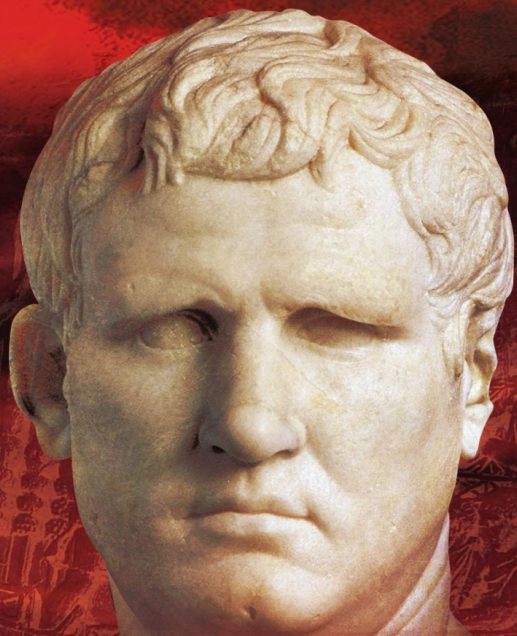
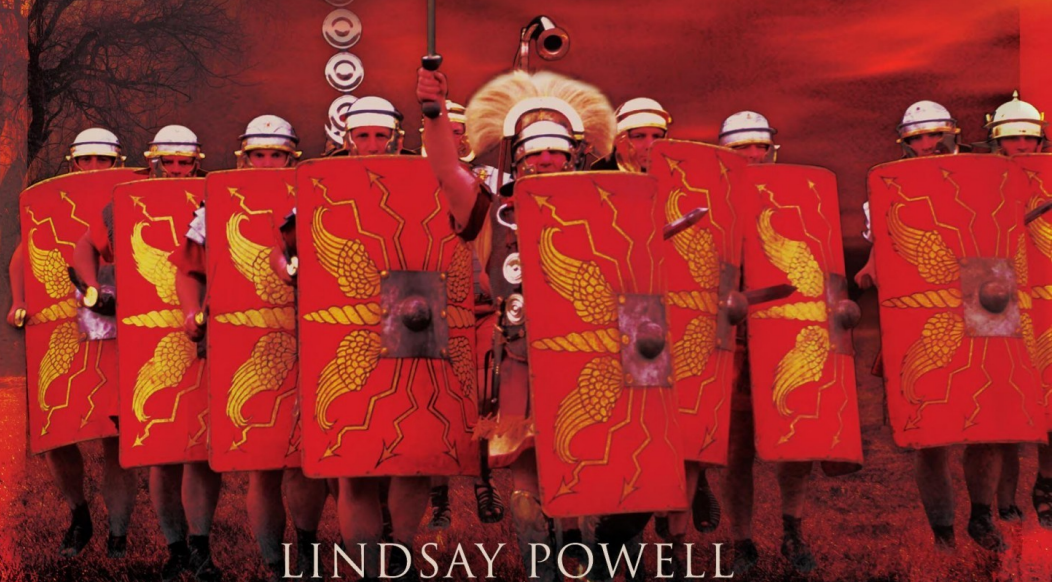




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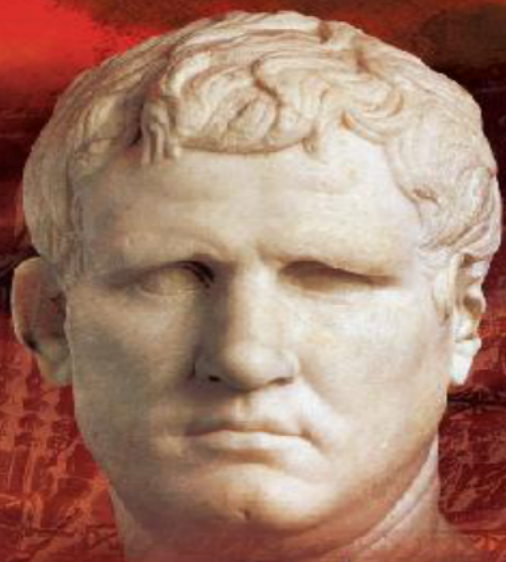
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LINDSAY POWELL
FOREWORD BY STEVEN SAYLOR

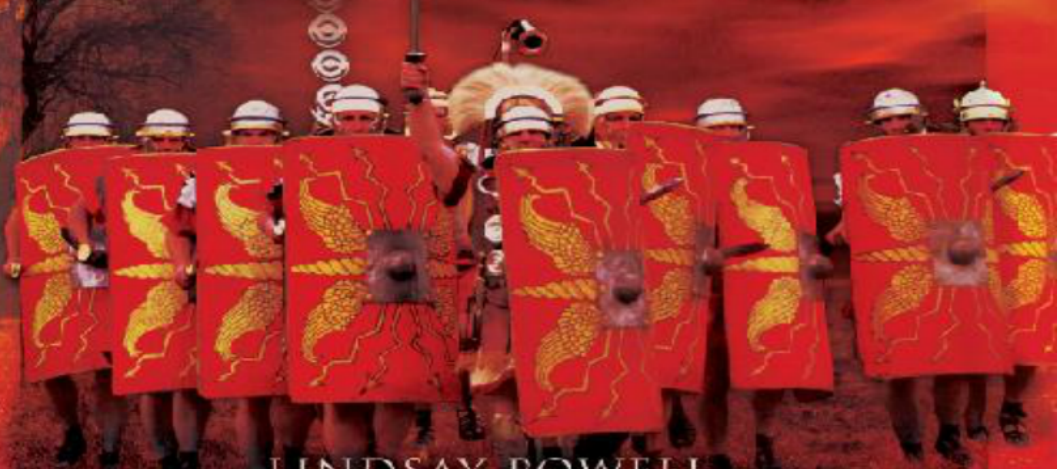
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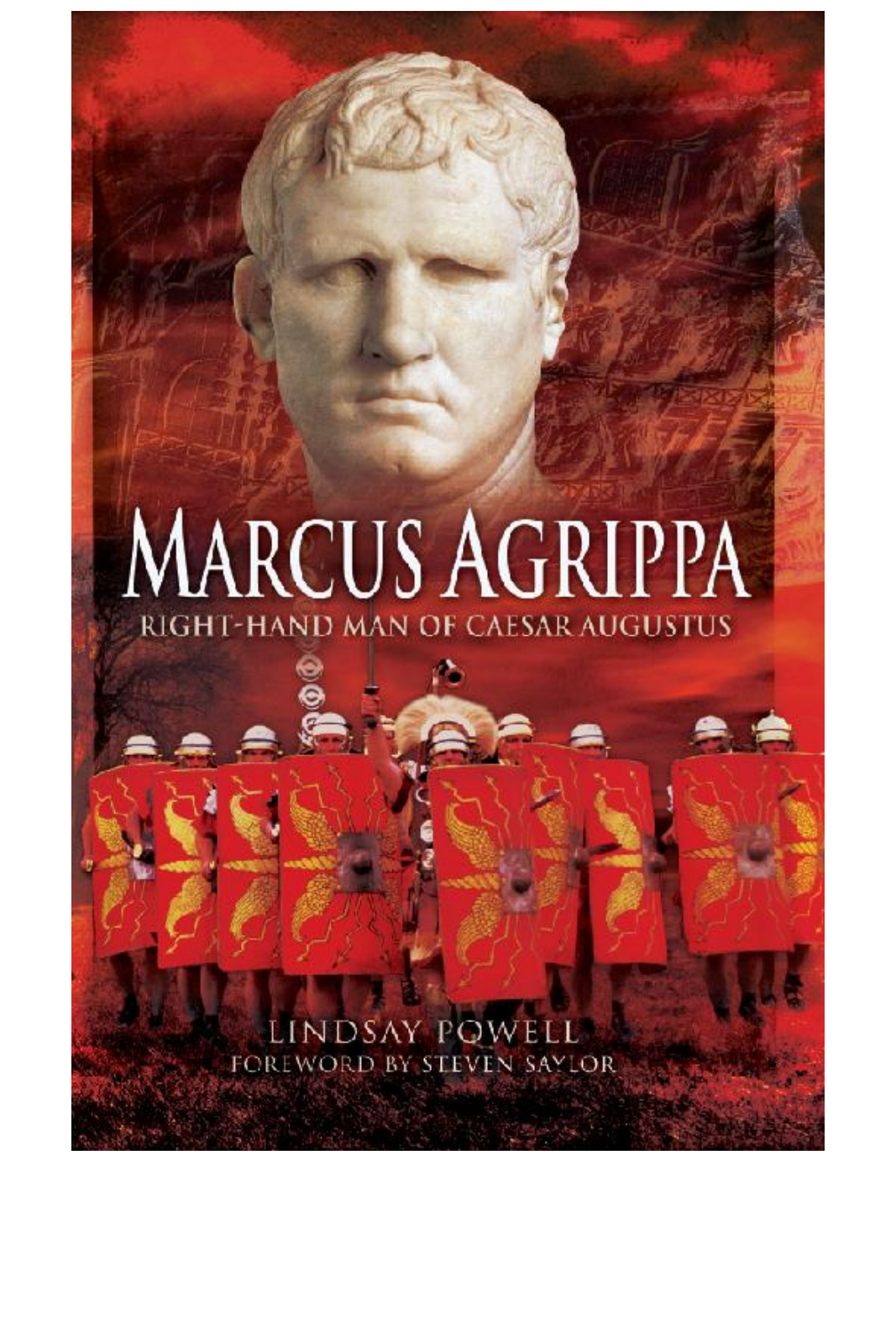


MARCUS AGRIPPA

RIGHT-HAND MAN OF CAESAR AUGUSTUS



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MARCUS AGRIPPA

RIGHT-HAND MAN OF CAESAR AUGUSTUS

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Right-Hand Man of
Caesar Augustus

LINDSAY POWELL

Foreword by
Steven Saylor



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For Mark,
Partner and Friend.

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Foreword

by Steven Saylor

I first met Marcus Agrippa in the guise of a Scottish actor named Andrew Keir. The time was half a century ago. The place was a drive-in theatre outside the small town of Goldthwaite, Texas. The film was *Cleopatra*.

The historical figures in the movie made an indelible (indeed, life-changing) impression on me – or at least some of them did. I would never forget Rex Harrison as Caesar, Richard Burton as Antony, and of course Elizabeth Taylor in the title role – or for that matter, Roddy McDowall's waspish turn as Augustus. Even as a boy, I thought he was woefully miscast.

But Agrippa? Agrippa made almost no impression on me at all. Afterward I would vaguely recall a bristling (and historically questionable) beard, a gruff, military bearing, and lots of carping about Cleopatra (which in the context of the film made him one of the bad guys). A few years later, Andrew Keir would make a much stronger impression playing Dr. Quatermass, and my image of Agrippa would become hazier and more confused than ever.

You know what they say: you never get a second chance to make a first impression. And so, in my mind, Agrippa became relegated to the chorus of history, at best a bit player – a drab workhorse in the business of empire-building, lacking the greatness of Augustus, the glamour of Cleopatra, the gory exit of Caesar, or Antony's tragic aura.

That view of Agrippa – a minor player, dimly glimpsed in the background – has been the standard view, not only in popular culture but in the work of historians. Things might have gone differently if Agrippa's memoirs had survived, and we had his version of events. Very little written material passes through the ruthless sieve of time; a first-person account that happens to endure can go a long way to securing one's place in history. But Agrippa's memoirs are lost.

Agrippa's place in history might also be different had he lived in an earlier age. In the centuries before Agrippa, our histories of Rome are crammed with the exploits of swaggering generals, daring heroes, radical politicians, and even rebel slaves. Amid these figures, a man like Agrippa would surely have stood out. But Agrippa lived in, and helped to shape, the transitional period between the freewheeling Republic and the emperor-centric Principate. In the centuries after Agrippa – thanks in no small part to his legacy – the histories dilate upon the imperial succession, until all we can see are the emperors. Despite his pivotal role – perhaps because of it – Agrippa gets lost in the shuffle.

Lindsay Powell would seek to redress this situation. The result is the book you hold in your hands.

There has been no biography of Agrippa in English for almost eighty years. The time has come for a full-scale reassessment, and Powell has risen to the task, scrupulously researching the scattered sources and clearly explicating the complicated details of Agrippa's long and eventful career. As a result, we now have a much clearer view of the right-hand man of Augustus.

But where is the human interest in this story? As Powell points out, Augustus and Agrippa lived one of the great 'buddy stories' of history. (One of the most glaring false impressions left by the movie *Cleopatra*: the brusque, bearded Andrew Keir seemed almost a father figure to the callow Roddy McDowell. In fact, Agrippa and Augustus were almost exactly the same age.) Perhaps a bit selfishly, I like it when historians flesh out the past, bringing passion and zest to the dry dust of long-ago lives. It makes my job – writing historical fiction – that much easier.

More than once in his introduction, Powell refers to working 'like a detective' to piece together the story of Agrippa's life. Indeed, the working habits of the historian and the detective are not that far apart. The clues are widely scattered, and sometimes missing altogether, but the lure of the mystery draws us on – because there is indeed a mystery at the heart of this story, as there is at the heart of every biography: who *was* Marcus Vispanius Agrippa?

Turn the pages and find out.

Steven Saylor
Berkeley,

Preface

A visitor to Rome will inevitably stop to admire the Christian Church of St Mary and the Martyrs in the Piazza della Rotonda. Better known as the Pantheon, this world famous temple was the great domed home of earlier pagan gods. Set upon towering columns of marble imported from Egypt, the ancient inscription on the entablature is cast in elegant bronze capitals. It begins with the name of its original builder, 'M. AGRIPPA'. This fantastic building – one of several erected by Agrippa in this part of the city – was actually rebuilt by the Emperor Hadrian over a century and half later, after it had been destroyed by fire. Agrippa's Pantheon probably looked very different, but it is telling that the famous builder of the great wall in remote Britannia chose not to put his own name on the temple but retained his antecedent's. It was a mark of respect for the man who made it possible for Caesar Augustus to claim 'I found a city of brick and leave it one of marble' (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56.30.3). It was one of many things Augustus relied on Agrippa to carry out for him during a lifetime of high adventure and exceptional achievement.

It is not stretching a point to say that without his devoted aide and indispensable deputy Augustus would never have been able to secure his position as leader of the Roman Empire by winning a devastating civil war, or to rule it as successfully as he did in peacetime. If there was ever someone who personified the term 'right-hand man' he was M. Agrippa. From an early age, Agrippa's fate was inextricably linked to the great nephew of the Perpetual Dictator Iulius Caesar. How the two men became best friends and together combined their talents to transform their world in turmoil is one of the great buddy stories of history.

Agrippa was a remarkable and multifaceted man who complemented his friend in age, outlook, personality and skills. He was a talented general on land and a fine admiral at sea, a pragmatic diplomat, a hard working public official, a generous philanthropist

and the loyalest of friends. He was Augustus' 'go-to guy', the man the boss turned to whenever he needed a difficult job done, whether it was beating tough guerillas in northern Spain or fixing creaking sewers in Rome. There were many times when he could have challenged Augustus and usurped power for himself, yet he did not. It seems he was never tempted. Intriguing to historians is to ponder the answer to the question of what drove him to sublimate his own desire for power – and still put his life at risk – when he had the means to take it and to be content with serving another? Or was it, in fact, that simple?

That life of selfless service put Agrippa in the forefront of world events. He was well connected and personally knew many of the great men of the age – Iulius Caesar, Cicero, M. Antonius and King Herod. He was also probably the most travelled man of his age. By the end of his life there were few places in the Roman Empire which Agrippa had not personally visited. Augustus implicitly trusted his friend's judgment and delegated him decision-making powers that finally matched his own. The result was that the world, which emerged from the bloody conflict following Caesar's assassination into one of peace under the protector-ship of Augustus, was in large measure shaped by his right-hand man.

Agrippa wrote an autobiography. Sadly not a word of it survives. Fortunately details of his life are recorded in a number of surviving accounts by ancient world historians – among them Appian, Cassius Dio, Josephus, Nikolaos of Damaskos, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Seneca the Elder, Strabo, Suetonius and Velleius Paterculus. Inscriptions from public buildings attest to his extensive travels. Additionally there are statue busts and coins which give us a very good impression of how he actually looked in life. Like a detective, by critically assembling this diverse source material, it *is* possible to convincingly reconstruct the life story of Agrippa and to create a nuanced portrait of the man and with it to make a critical assessment of his achievements.

Agrippa has been the subject of close study and scholarly biographies, the earliest of which was 1717. In more recent times German readers have been served by a popular work by Helmut Signon in 1978 and French readers have been fortunate to have access to Michel Roddaz's excellent academic reference published in 1984.

Italian readers have the collected papers of the XVII Giornate Filologiche Genovesi of 1989 edited by the University of Genoa. All three are now out of print. The last biography of Agrippa in English, however, was published in London in 1937 by Frederick Adam Wright. Its author popularized the landmark volume by Meyer Reinhold – his doctoral thesis in fact – published in New York in 1933 (Dr Reinhold died in July 2002). Today, either biography is extremely difficult to find outside a major university library. A new telling of the life of this noteworthy man is long overdue in any language and I am fortunate to have had the opportunity – no, the privilege – to be the one to do so.

Agrippa's life bridged the last days of the Roman Republic and its first as a form of constitutional monarchy that modern historians often refer to as the Early Empire or Principate. Making this story all the more compelling is the fact that Agrippa played a key role in that transition. This book charts the life of Agrippa chronologically from birth to death, divided into chapters which describe the key events and themes which shaped it.

Chapter 1, 'New Man in Rome', covers the years 64 to March 44 BCE during which Agrippa grew up, became close friends with Octavius and went to war in the service of Iulius Caesar.

Chapter 2, 'Champion of the New Caesar', follows Agrippa during the immediate aftermath of Iulius Caesar's assassination on the Ides of March 44 BCE, and supports Caesar's heir in asserting his claim to power in a legal cartel with M. Antonius and Aemilius Lepidus.

Chapter 3, 'Fighter on Land and Sea', charts Agrippa's political and military career from 39 to 33 BCE as provincial governor, consul of Rome, admiral in the war against the renegade Sextus Pompeius, joint commander in the brutal Illyrian War and commissioner responsible for public works.

Chapter 4, 'Mastermind of Victory at Actium', sees how Agrippa once again proves himself skilled in the arts of war, culminating in victory over archrivals Antonius and Kleopatra at Actium in 31 BCE.

Chapter 5, 'Architect of the New Rome', describes how,

between 30 and 24 BCE, he and his friend – adopting the new title Augustus – become the nexus of political and military power and Agrippa begins to transform Rome's cityscape.

Chapter 6, 'Statesman of the Roman World', charts the years 23 to 19 BCE during which he travels the length and breadth of the empire, strengthening relationships with Rome's allies, quelling rebellions and beautifying cities.

Chapter 7, 'Associate of Augustus', examines the period of Agrippa's life at its zenith, marking the Century Games of 17 BCE, touring the eastern provinces and meeting his end.

Chapter 8, 'Noblest Man of His Day', looks at how Augustus dealt with the loss of his friend, and the ways in which their descendants exploited his reputation for their own ends.

Chapter 9, 'Assessment', evaluates Agrippa's personality, achievements and legacy and attempts to answer the question, 'what manner of man was he?'

When I completed this book I was the same age as Agrippa when he died. I am fortunate indeed to have outlived him, but I marvel at his extraordinary achievements compared to my own lifetime's humble offerings. Writing history means making editorial decisions both as a historian and as a writer. As a historian I have to be faithful to the facts as they are known and to make explicit any speculations. Readers sometimes express the view 'I would have liked to have known more about his private life/emotional state/opinions' and so on as if I had intentionally withheld the information. One of the challenges of writing about people of the ancient past is the paucity of personal detail. If only Agrippa's daybook or autobiography had survived! People of antiquity are so often no more than names associated with an event for whom we do not even possess a reliable contemporary description. Discussing their characters or motivations would, thus, be no more than speculation, a task better left to historical fiction writers. Indeed, despite all the statue busts we have, there is not a single mention of the colour of Agrippa's hair or his eyes, nor even his height, for us to project those features on to the cold white marble and imagine it as warm, human flesh.

As a writer I have to decide how much backstory to include to set

the context in which the actors of the story lived and made consequential decisions that affected their lives. The world of M. Agrippa was very different to our own and thus, for example, to understand a position that he held and its significance in his meteoric career makes an explanation of some or all aspects of that role necessary. Where it makes sense to do so I place the explanation in the narrative rather than the endnotes, because, for example, in the case of a priesthood, it reveals that a technocrat like Agrippa willingly accepted religious postings, despite their arcane practices and rituals and his public rejection of astrology and charlatanism. He was a man of his times and, as his life story shows, he delighted and thrived in them, and was quite capable of living with contradictions and paradoxes.

There is much to know about his world in all its nuanced complexity, but such limited space in a single volume biography to discuss it. I encourage the reader to study the endnotes and explore the points raised. They are extensive for a reason. Firstly, they fully disclose how this sausage was made! A historian worth his salt owes it to his reader to disclose that. Secondly, given the paucity and quality of source material, the reader should be aware that what modern – and especially ancient – historians sometimes present as indisputable fact, on closer inspection, can be found to be assertion based on inference or guesswork – and indeed, that it is disputed by others in the same field of scholarship.

An Ancient Chinese proverb states ‘the beginning of wisdom is to call things by their right names’. Romans generally had two names, a personal name (*praenomen*) and a family or clan name (*nomen gentriculum*), but from the later days of the Republic, it was becoming common to have three by adding a nickname (*cognomen*). While the subject of this biography had all three constituent parts to his name, he seems to have insisted on being known simply as M. Agrippa. Victorious commanders in battle might also be granted an honourific title (*agnomen*). Modern historians usually call Romans by their *cognomina* or *agnomina*, the last of the three or more names, hence Cicero for M. Tullius Cicero, or Augustus for Emperor Caesar Augustus. I do not use the convention Octavian for the man who became Caesar’s heir. He assumed and used the name of his great uncle and never used Octavianus. Throughout the text I use Iulius (I

have used Iulius for Julius throughout) Caesar for the *dictator* and plain Caesar for the man who would later become Augustus. In some cases the Latin name has mutated into an Anglicism, such as Livy for Livius or Pliny for Plinius. For the names of ancient historians, I use the modern form. For the protagonists in the story I retain the Latin form – hence M. Antonius rather than Marc (or Mark) Antony – and the Greek form – thus Kleopatra for Cleopatra – since this is faithful to the original spelling found on coins and inscriptions and respects the names by which they themselves were known in their own time. For the same reason I use Caius not Gaius and Cnaeus not Gnaeus.

By tradition, Roman men and women in extended families often had the same name. Agrippa's daughters and granddaughters took the feminine form of the family's *nomen gentile* with the result that there are several women with the name Vipsania Agrippina. To distinguish between them modern historians refer to Vipsania Agrippina (first wife of Tiberius), Agrippina Maior or 'the Elder' (wife of Germanicus) and Agrippina Minor or 'the Younger' (mother of Nero). The reader will be forgiven for thinking that studying the *Domus Augusta*, the House of Augustus, can quickly become very confusing: it is, even for people intimately familiar with the Roman period. With that in mind, I have tried to use the singular name Agrippa throughout to refer to the man who is the subject of this biography. The family tree will help the reader understand the branches of the House of Agrippa.

Where a place has a Latin name I prefer to use it since the modern name creates a false impression of the scale and feel of the ancient place – hence Oppidum Ubiorum (founded by Agrippa) rather than Cologne, which at this time more likely looked like a town of the American Wild West. In other cases, where the modern place name is unfamiliar to most readers I use the ancient name, such as Antiocheia on the Orontes (in Roman Syria) rather than Antakya (now in Turkey). Some ancient places in the East have both Latin and Greek names, such as Corcyra and Kerkyra, in which case I tend to use the original Greek form. The exceptions are Actium, Athens, Egypt and Rome, because to use Athenae (or Athenai), Aegyptus and Roma would be unnecessarily pedantic; and places for which the ancient name is not known I use the modern name unless there is a well-known Anglicism. I have listed ancient and modern place names on page 230 for

convenience.

The names and places used by the indigenous peoples of Rome's empire and the lands on its borders who sided with or fought against the Romans are only known to us through Greek and Latin writings. Similarly a few tribal chieftains and kings are known but only by Romanized or Hellenized names. The Parthian king of kings Frahâtak is generally known to readers in English by the 'westernized' (actually the Greek) form Phraates.

The Latin version is used for Roman officer ranks, arms, equipment and battle formations throughout the text since there is often no modern equivalent. Definitions of the terms are listed in the Glossary. Similarly with legal and political terms: the Roman republic Agrippa was born into was a complex structure of elected magistrates, assemblies of citizen voters and the Senate. For readers unfamiliar with the principal institutions and roles of its officials, I recommend starting with a reading of [Appendix 1](#) before diving into the main narrative.

Writing about the ancient world involves making several editorial decisions and presentational compromises. Chronology is one of them. The Romans had their own calendar using the names of each year's consuls (see page xxviii), and ancient historians routinely refer to dates in this way. For modern readers, it is cumbersome and very confusing. Our own style of identifying years by serial numbers makes life so much easier! However, in respect of dates, I have adopted the increasingly accepted conventions BCE (Before the Common Era) instead of BC (Before Christ), and CE (Common Era) for AD (*anno Domini*). I am aware some readers dislike this newer format, but it is common in research literature – popular historian Mary Beard is on record in *A Don's Life* (26 September 2011) as stating the convention has been around for years and that about half of the academic papers published on Ancient History display dates in this format – and even the BBC now uses it. Thus, Agrippa was born in 64 BCE (or 64 BC) and Augustus died in 14 CE (AD 14).

The job of a biographer is to present as accurate and unbiased an account as possible – warts and all – of his chosen subject's life but also to make the story compelling reading. Establishing, checking and interpreting facts makes for an intellectually stimulating journey as lines of inquiry take one this way or that. Like a detective, asking

questions, examining evidence, having an open mind and a willingness to follow the leads wherever they go are the essential prerequisites to successfully solving a case. In the final analysis, however, as one strives to make the man come alive on the page the writing itself is a lonely endeavour, with the inner voice being both constant companion and sternest critic. I hope the result is a truthful and compelling account of the life of one of Ancient Rome's most successful generals and consequential sons.

To the shades of Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul three times, I present this book. *Arma virumque cano.*

Lindsay Powell
St Patrick's Day,
March 2013
Austin, Texas

Acknowledgements

There are several people who deserve my thanks for helping me with this project. I start with family and friends. My partner, mother, brother and my friend Sonia St James (self-styled ‘muse to creative minds’) have all offered much appreciated encouragement throughout the project. To my commissioning editor, Philip Sidnell, who responded enthusiastically to my proposal for this, my third book for Pen & Sword, I shall again always be grateful. To Noel Sadler, who laid out these pages, Dominic Allen who created the jacket, and Matt Jones who supervised the whole production process, I offer my sincere thanks.

I feel very honoured that Steven Saylor agreed to provide the foreword to *Marcus Agrippa*. Steven has a remarkable talent for making the ancient world come alive for modern readers. He has studied the Roman world in particular for many years. As the author of the fictional *Roma Sub Rosa* series set in the last days of Republican Rome he is well-qualified to compose the opening remarks. It was into this age of political and military giants that Agrippa was born. I have enjoyed several discussions with him over dinner in Austin, Texas and have always come away from them with new insights into the ancient past, the study of which we both so much enjoy.

This book tells the story of Marcus Agrippa in both words and pictures. I offer my thanks to the helpful staff of The Perry-Castañeda Library of The University of Texas at Austin, who allowed me access to their amazing collection of books, many now out of print. For helping me to illustrate the story, I offer my thanks to Shanna Berk Schmidt of Harlan J. Berk, Ltd, Chicago, and Richard Beale of Roma Numismatics Limited, London, for kindly providing images of coins. From the re-enactment world, I must thank Chris Haines, MBE, Mike Knowles, and members of The Ermine Street Guard, a registered charity in England, of which I am proud to say I am a veteran member, for use of their photographs. For images of Roman portrait

busts, I express my gratitude to Marie-Lan Nguyen in France, and for the Praeneste warship to Jasper Oorthuys, editor-in-chief of the excellent *Ancient Warfare* magazine, published by Karwansaray B.V. in The Netherlands, and for which I am news editor.

War stories cannot be told without the aid of maps. Erin Greb of Erin Greb Cartography did a marvellous job of producing the maps of Agrippa's travels to my exact specifications. My thanks also to Ian Hughes for drawing the plans of the Campus Martius and Portus Julius, and to Alex Swanston at Pen & Sword for the one of the Battle of Actium

I have quoted extracts from several ancient authors' works whose voices lend authenticity to the narrative. For the translations, I used: Appian of Alexandria's *Ῥωμαϊκά*, translated by Horace White in *Appian's Roman History* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1899); Augustus' *Res Gestae*, translated by Thomas Bushnell, BSG, and reproduced with permission (1998); Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, translated by Edward Brooks in *The First Six Books of the Gallic War* (Chicago: The Cenn Publishing Company, 1896); Cornelius Nepos' *Vitae*, 'Life of T. Pomponius Atticus', in *Lives of Eminent Commanders*, translated by the Rev. John Selby Watson, MA (London: George Bell and Sons, 1886) pp. 305–450; Cassius Dio's *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* (*Romaiki Istoría*), translated by Herbert Balwin Foster in *Dio's Roman History*, Volume 4 (New York: Pafraets Book Company, 1905), and E. Cary, based on the version by H.B. Foster, in *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann, 1917); Cicero's *Epistulae*, translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh in *The Letters of Cicero: The Whole Extant Correspondence in Chronological Order* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1905); Cicero's *Oratio pro L. Murena*, translated by C.D. Yonge in *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, Volume 2 (London: Bell, 1891); Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, translated by C.D. Yonge in *Cicero's Tusculan Disputations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1877); Frontinus' *de Aequeductu Urbis Romae* translated by Charles E. Bennett in the Loeb edition, 1925; Hippokates' *Περὶ Ἀγμῶν* (*Peri Agmon*), translated by Francis Adams in *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, Volume 2 (London: Sydenham Society, 1849); Horace's *Carmina*, translated by John Conington in *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace Translated Into English Verse* (London: Bell and Daldy, Third Edition, 1865); Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, translated by William Whiston in *The*

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Lastly, my thanks go to Bob Durrett, an enthusiastic and engaging teacher of Latin, who kindly provided the evocative translation of Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*.

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Chronology

<i>Date BCE</i>	<i>Key events</i>	<i>Agrippa's age</i>
64	<i>January</i> <i>Earliest date for M. Vipsanius Agrippa's birth.</i> Cn. Pompeius Magnus destroys the kingdom of Pontus; Mithradates VI commits suicide after escaping to the Crimea.	
63	<i>January 1</i> M. Tullius Cicero Consul. <i>Early March</i> <i>Alternative date of Agrippa's birth.</i> Conspiracy of L. Sergius Catalina.	1
	<i>September 23</i> Birth of C. Octavius Thurinus (Octavius).	
62	Catalina killed at Battle of Pistoria.	2
61	Pompeius Magnus celebrates third triumph for victories over the pirates and Mithradates VI. C. Julius Caesar Proconsul of Hispania.	3
60	First Triumvirate formed between Julius Caesar, Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus.	4
59	Julius Caesar Consul.	5
58	<i>January 30</i> Birth of Livia Drusilla. Julius Caesar Proconsul in Gallia Comata; <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> begins.	6
57	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata.	7
56	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata.	8
55	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata, crosses the Rhine and lands in Britain.	9
54	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata and lands in Britain for the second time.	10
53	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata and crosses the Rhine for the second time. M. Licinius Crassus invades Parthia, defeated by Surena and killed at Battle of Carrhae, loses <i>aquila</i> (legionary eagle standards).	11
52	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata. Battle of Gergovia. Sieges of Avaricum and Alesia – Vercingetorix surrenders to Caesar. Pompeius Magnus sole consul.	12
51	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata.	13
50	Julius Caesar at war in Gallia Comata.	14
49	Start of Civil War. Caesar crosses the Rubicon, marches on Rome, wins campaign in Spain, declared <i>dictator</i> .	15
48	Julius Caesar defeats Pompeius Magnus at Pharsalus.	16
	<i>September 29</i> Pompeius Magnus assassinated in Egypt. Julius Caesar installs Kleopatra VII on throne of Egypt.	
47	<i>June 23</i> Caesarion (son of Julius Caesar and Kleopatra) born. <i>April 6</i> Julius Caesar defeats opposition at Thapsus in northern Africa.	17
	<i>September</i> Julius Caesar's triumph in Rome; Vercingetorix executed.	
45	<i>March 17</i> Battle of Munda: Julius Caesar defeats Pompeian opposition in Spain. Agrippa in Carthago Nova, returns to Rome.	19
	<i>December</i> Agrippa at Apollonia with Octavius.	
44	Julius Caesar declared <i>dictator perpetuo</i> .	20

	March 15	Julius Caesar assassinated.	
	April	Agrippa in Italy with Octavius.	
	May 8	Octavius accepts the will of Julius Caesar and adoption under its terms as his heir (Octavianus).	
	October	Agrippa on mission in Campania with veterans of Julius Caesar's legions.	
43	Winter 44/43	Agrippa in Rome	21
	January 2	Octavianus receives propraetorian <i>imperium</i> , adlected to Senate. Agrippa's first magistracy(?) Agrippa recruits new troops.	
	April 14	Octavianus' first acclamation as <i>Imperator</i> .	
	April 16	Battle of Forum Gallorum: Pansa defeated.	
	April 21	Siege of Mutina led by Antonius: Hirtius killed, Pansa wounded. D. Junius Brutus escapes. Antonius retreats to Narbonensis.	
	July 20–30	Games held in honour of Julius Caesar's victory; appearance of comet <i>Sida: Iulium</i> .	
	mid-August	<i>Lex centuriata</i> passed; Octavianus officially assumes name of C. Julius Caesar. Caesar Consul (I) with Q. Pedius.	
	August 19	<i>Lex Pedia</i> – punishing the assassins of Julius Caesar – passed. Agrippa leads prosecution against C. Cassius Longinus. <i>Colonia Copia Felix Munatia</i> founded by L. Munatius Plancus.	
	November 27	<i>Lex Titia</i> : Caesar, Antonius and M. Aemilius Lepidus form Second Triumvirate. Proscriptions begin.	
	December 7	Execution of M. Tullius Cicero.	
	December 10	Agrippa elected <i>Tribunus Plebis</i> (?)	
42	January 1	Julius Caesar deified – Caesar's heir becomes ' <i>Divi filius</i> '. Proscriptions: Marcus and Barbula.	22
	October 3 and 23	Battle of Philippi. Brutus and Cassius commit suicide. Sex. Pompeius in control of Sicily.	
	November 16	Birth of Ti. Claudius Nero (Tiberius).	
41	Winter	L. Antonius besieged at Perusia by Caesar.	23
		Antonius meets Kleopatra at Alexandria.	
40	January	Agrippa and Salvidienus halt Pollio and Ventidius at Fulginium.	24
	February	Perusia falls to Caesar; L. Antonius surrenders. Agrippa <i>praetor urbanus</i> . Parthians invade Syria.	
	July	Agrippa stages <i>Ludi Apollinarios</i> . Sex. Pompeius raids Italian coast, Agrippa intervenes.	
	August	M. Antonius sets out from Brundisium.	
	August–October	Agrippa leads operations in the south of Italy, captures Sipontum. Treaty of Brundisium (September). Caesar marries Scribonia, Antonius' sister; Antonius marries Octavia, Caesar's sister.	
	October	Disgrace and execution of Salvidienus. Caesar's first <i>oratio</i> ; assumes <i>praenomen</i> ' <i>Imperator</i> '. Agrippa departs for Gallia Comata.	
<i>End 40–Start 37</i> Agrippa's first stay in Narbonensis and Gallia Aquitania.			
39		Agrippa appointed to <i>Quindecimviri sacris faciundis</i> Agrippa begins reorganization of the Gallic provinces; lays out road network radiating out from <i>Colonia Copia Felix Munatia</i> .	25
	Summer	Treaty of Misenum. Agrippa in Aquitania.	
	October 30	Birth of Julia (the Elder) to Caesar and Scribonia. Second Triumvirate renewed.	26

	<i>January 13</i>	Birth of Nero Claudius Drusus (the Elder).	
	<i>January 17</i>	Caesar divorces Scribonia, marries Livia Drusilla.	
	<i>Spring</i>	Agrippa campaigns to suppress revolt in Gallia Aquitania.	
	<i>Summer</i>	Sex. Pompeius defeats Caesar off Cumae in Straits of Misenum. Agrippa squashes insurrection of the Aquitani.	
37–35		<i>Agrippa fights Sex. Pompeius; campaigns in Illyria.</i>	
37	<i>January 1</i>	Agrippa Consul (1). Agrippa crosses the Rhine(?). Caesar recalls Agrippa to assume the consulship and to lead the war against Sex. Pompeius. Agrippa awarded but declines triumph. Agrippa marries Caecilia Attica. War against Sex. Pompeius begins. Agrippa builds the <i>Portus Julius</i> and a new fleet, trains 20,000 mariners.	27
36	<i>Spring</i>	Vipsania Agrippina born to Agrippa and Caecilia Attica(?). M. Antonius' campaign in Parthia begins. Agrippa moves fleet to Strongyle. Start of the offensive against Sicily.	28
	<i>May–June</i>	Agrippa moves fleet to Hiera.	
	<i>July 1</i>	Battle of Mylae: Agrippa defeats Demochares, Sex. Pompeius' admiral, but fails to take Tyndaris. Caesar fails to take Tauroomenium; Cornificius escapes to Mylae. Agrippa captures Tyndaris.	
	<i>September 3</i>	Battle of Nauclochus: Agrippa defeats Pompeius who flees to Mytilene, Lesbos to seek asylum with M. Antonius.	
	<i>Late September</i>	Sex. Pompeius' deputy L. Plinius surrenders at Messana.	
	<i>September 22</i>	Caesar strips Lepidus of his powers as <i>Triumvir</i> . M. Antonius retreats from Parthia through Armenia.	
	<i>November 13</i>	Caesar returns to Rome in triumph. Agrippa rewarded with a unique golden rostral crown (<i>corona navalis</i>).	
35		Caesar and Agrippa in Illyria: Agrippa takes part in the siege of Metulus, leads operations on the Dalmatian coast.	29
	<i>Winter</i>	Agrippa departs for Rome.	
34–33		<i>Agrippa supervises civil engineering works in Rome.</i>	
34		Agrippa in Rome. Agrippa supervises the repairs to the <i>Aqua Marcia</i> . M. Antonius annexes Armenia, celebrates triumph in Alexandria.	30
	<i>December 31</i>	Triumvirate expires.	
33	<i>January 1</i>	Caesar Consul (2). Agrippa appointed Curule Aedile, begins major programme of public works restorations and new buildings. Caesar returns to Rome.	31
32–30		<i>Agrippa fights Antonius and Kleopatra.</i>	
32	<i>January</i>	Agrippa accompanies Caesar at his retreat outside Rome.	32
	<i>February</i>	C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (both standing consuls) leave Rome to join M. Antonius.	
	<i>March 31</i>	Death of T. Pomponius Atticus. Agrippa's father-in-law, by suicide.	
	<i>May–June</i>	M. Antonius and Kleopatra arrive in Athens. Oath of allegiance sworn to Caesar by all Italian communities (<i>Isotia Italiae</i>). Antonius divorces Octavia.	
	<i>October</i>	Actian War: Senate's declaration of war against Kleopatra. Agrippa makes preparations for military operations to take Kerkyra.	
31	<i>January 1</i>	Caesar Consul (3) – and every successive year down to 23 BCE.	32

	<i>Spring</i>	Agrippa attacks M. Antonius' positions on the coast of western Greece, captures Kerkyra, Methone. Arrival of Caesar's army in Epirus. Agrippa starts the blockade of M. Antonius' army and his fleet in the Gulf of Ambracia.	
	<i>Summer</i>	Agrippa captures Lefkas.	
	<i>August</i>	Agrippa defeats Sosias. Ahenobarbus defects to Caesar.	
	<i>September 2</i>	Battle of Actium: Kleopatra flees the battle with treasure and M. Antonius; Agrippa defeats Antonius' fleet.	
	<i>Mid-September</i>	Caesar accepts surrender of Antonius' army. Caesar founds Nikopolis on the site of his camp in Epirus.	
30		Agrippa withdraws troops to Italy.	
		Agrippa in Rome: exercises interim powers with Maecenas.	33
		Army of Egypt surrenders to Caesar.	
	<i>August 1</i>	M. Antonius commits suicide; Kleopatra commits suicide (or is murdered?).	
	<i>August 10</i>	Egypt annexed as a Roman province.	
	<i>August 23</i>	Caesarion murdered.	
		Augustus founds Nikopolis in Egypt to commemorate his final victory over M. Antonius and Kleopatra.	
29-23		<i>Agrippa in Rome.</i>	
29	<i>January 11</i>	Doors of the Temple of Janus closed, symbolizing the war's end.	34
	<i>August 13-15</i>	Caesar celebrates a 'triple triumph' for victories in Illyricum, at Actium and Egypt. New honours conferred on Agrippa, including a sea-blue <i>vestimen</i> pennant.	
	<i>August 18</i>	Temple of Divus Iulius and <i>Curia Julia</i> dedicated in Rome.	
	<i>August 28</i>	Altar of Victory dedicated inside the <i>Curia Julia</i> .	
28	<i>January 1</i>	Agrippa Consul (2) with Caesar (6).	35
		Caesar and Agrippa assume offices of censors.	
		Rebuilding of the Temple of Iupiter Feretrius.	
		Agrippa appointed to <i>Fratre Arvale</i> .	
		First Constitutional Settlement: restoration of the <i>Iura et Leges Populi Romani</i> ('Rights and Laws of the Roman People'); Caesar named <i>Princeps Senatus</i> ('Head of the Senate').	
	<i>October 9</i>	Agrippa marries Claudia Marcella, daughter of Octavia (<i>Minor</i>).	
		Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill dedicated.	
27	<i>January 1</i>	Agrippa Consul (3) with Caesar (7).	36
	<i>January 13</i>	Senate grants Caesar control of 'imperial' provinces and permits him to govern them through <i>legati</i> ('deputies'); Senate votes Caesar <i>imperium</i> for 10 years.	
	<i>January 16</i>	Senate grants Caesar the honorific title 'Augustus' and the right to display the <i>clipeus virtutis</i> ('Shield of Virtue') and two laurel crowns.	
	<i>Spring</i>	Caesar Augustus departs for Tres Galliae and Hispaniae.	
		Agrippa supervises improvements to the <i>Campus Martius</i> .	
		Completion of <i>Saepta Julia</i> ; construction of the Pantheon and Basilica of Neptunus; last phase of Baths of Agrippa.	
26		War against the Astures and Cantabri begins: Augustus leads eight legions on campaign in Hispania. Tiberius in Hispania as <i>tribunus militum</i> .	37
25		Doors of Temple of Janus closed for a second time.	38
		Amynas dies, Galatia becomes a Roman province.	
		Augustus falls ill, convalesces in Terracina in care of Livia.	

		Agrippa presides at the wedding of Julia the Elder to M. Claudius Marcellus in Rome.	
24		Augustus returns to Rome. A. Gallus invades Arabia Felix.	39
<i>July 23–Autumn 21</i> Agrippa's first mission in the East			
23		Augustus falls ill, gives Agrippa his signet ring. Agrippa departs for the East.	40
	<i>June</i>	Augustus resigns the consulship. Second Constitutional Settlement: Senate confirms Augustus' <i>imperium</i> (to govern provinces) and <i>tribunicia potestas</i> (renewed annually). Agrippa also receives <i>proconsulare imperium</i> (<i>aequum</i>).	
	<i>June/July</i>	Agrippa stays at Mytilene on Lesbos.	
	<i>After August 1</i>	Death of Marcellus. Amarirenas Kandake of Kush invades southern Egypt; C. Petronius counterattacks from Egypt and razes Napata.	
	<i>Winter</i>	Herodes visits Agrippa in Mytilene.	
22		Agrippa tours the eastern provinces. Flood in Rome; famine and plague in Italy. Augustus refuses powers of <i>dictator</i> and consulships in <i>perpetuo</i> , but accepts the <i>cura annonae</i> (responsibility for grain supply). Agrippa covertly negotiates return of military <i>aquilae</i> from Parthians(?)	41
		Augustus travels to Sicily, calls Agrippa to meet him.	
21	<i>Autumn</i>	Agrippa in Rome. Agrippa divorces Claudia Marcella, marries Julia the Elder in Rome.	42
<i>End 20–Spring 18</i> Agrippa's second mission in the West.			
20		Agrippa responsible for keeping order in Rome while Augustus is away in the East. Tiberius Claudius Nero installs Tigranes III on the throne of Armenia. Augustus agrees treaty with Frahâta of Parthia: Tiberius receives back legendary <i>casabe</i> lost at Battle of Carrhae (53 BCE).	43
	<i>August 14–September 13</i>	C. Vispanius Agrippa born to Agrippa and Julia.	
		Tiberius marries Vispania Agrippina. Augustus given <i>cura viarum</i> (responsibility for roads of Italy).	
19		Gallie revolt and/or invasion from Germania. Agrippa in Naïonensis, stays at Glanum, Nemausus. Agrippa begins reorganization of the Gallic provinces; lays out road network radiating out from Colonia Copia Felix Munatia. Vipsania Julia Agrippina (Julia the Younger) born to Agrippa and Julia.	44
	<i>Spring–Winter</i>	Agrippa in the Iberian Peninsula, concludes Asturian-Cantabrian War.	
	<i>September 21</i>	Death of poet Vergil; posthumous publication of <i>Aeneid</i> .	
	<i>October 12</i>	Augustus returns to Rome.	
	<i>December 15</i>	Altar of Fortuna Redux dedicated.	
18	<i>Spring</i>	Agrippa returns to Rome. Augustus' <i>imperium</i> and <i>tribunicia potestas</i> extended for another 5 years. Agrippa's <i>imperium</i> (<i>aequum</i>) renewed and <i>tribunicia potestas</i> extended for 5 years. Introduction of <i>Lex Julia</i> or <i>Leges Juliae</i> ('moral' legislation covering adultery and marriage).	45
17	<i>May 31–June 3</i>	<i>Ludi Saeculares</i> .	46

<i>June 14–July 15</i>		T. Vipsanius Agrippa born to Agrippa and Julia. Augustus adopts Agrippa's sons Caius and Lucius.	
<i>Summer</i>		<i>Clades Lolliana</i> : Germanic tribes invade Gallia Belgica, M. Lollius loses standard of <i>Legio V Alaudae</i> .	
<i>Spring 17–13</i>		<i>Agrippa's second mission in the East.</i>	
16		Augustus and Tiberius in Tres Galliae.	47
	<i>May 24</i>	Birth of Nero Claudius Drusus (Germanicus).	
	<i>Winter</i>	Agrippa in Athens.	
15		Agrippa in Athens or Mytilene. Agrippa travels around Asia Minor. (Restores freedom of Cyzicus). Nero Claudius Drusus (Drusus the Elder) and Tiberius campaign in Ractia, Vindelicia and Noricum.	48
	<i>Summer</i>	Agrippa arrives in Syria. Stays at Antiocheia on the Orontes. Agrippa bolsters the veterans' colony at Berytus.	
	<i>Autumn</i>	Agrippa stays in Hierosolyma in Iudaea.	
	<i>Winter</i>	Agrippa in Mytilene.	
14	<i>Spring</i>	Agrippa despatches Polemon to deal with the usurper in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Agrippa arrives with Herodes in Sinope to deal with the crisis. Julia almost dies at Illium; Agrippa fines the city of Illium. Agrippa and Herodes travel south across Asia Minor, visit Ephesus. Agrippa confirms legal rights of Jews in Greek cities.	49
	<i>October?</i>	Vipsania Agrippina (the Elder) born to Agrippa and Julia.	
	<i>Winter</i>	Agrippa at Mytilene where he is visited by Herodes the Great.	
<i>Autumn 13–Winter 12</i>		<i>Agrippa campaigns in Illyricum/Pannonia.</i>	
13	<i>January 1</i>	Tiberius Consul (1).	50
	<i>Spring</i>	Agrippa and Augustus in Rome. Lepidus dies. Augustus becomes <i>pontifex maximus</i> .	
	<i>July</i>	Renewal of Augustus' constitutional powers. Agrippa invested with <i>imperium maius</i> and <i>tribunicia potestas</i> for 5 years. M. Vinicius tries to suppress revolt in Illyricum/Pannonia.	
	<i>Autumn</i>	Agrippa leaves for Illyricum/Pannonia to squash the revolt.	
12	<i>Spring</i>	Drusus begins operations in Germania Magna.	51
	<i>March 19–23?</i>	Agrippa dies in Campania during the festival of the <i>Quinquatria</i> .	
	<i>April?</i>	Agrippa's state funeral in Rome: Augustus delivers the eulogy and places his ashes in the Mausoleum of Augustus.	
	<i>June 26</i>	Agrippa Postumus born to Agrippa and Julia. Drusus' fleet runs aground on the mudflats off the coast of north-west Europe, but is rescued by the Frisii; returns to Vetera on the Rhine.	
11		Tiberius forced to divorce Vipsania Agrippina and marry Julia. Tiberius sent to direct military operations in Illyricum. Drusus reaches the Weser River.	52

List of Consuls

<i>Year</i>	<i>First consul</i>	<i>Second consul</i>
64 BCE	L. Iulius Caesar	C. Marcius Figulus
63	M. Tullius Cicero	C. Antonius Hibrida
62	D. Iunius Silanus	L. Licinius Murena
61	M. Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus	M. Valerius Messalla Niger
60	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer	L. Afranius
59	C. Iulius Caesar	M. Calpurnius Bibulus
58	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus	A. Gabinius
57	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos
56	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus	L. Marcius Philippus
55	Cn. Pompeius Magnus II	M. Licinius Crassus II
54	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	Ap. Claudius Pulcher
53	Cn. Domitius Calvinus	M. Valerius Messalla Rufus
52	Cn. Pompeius Magnus III	Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio
51	Scr. Sulpicius Rufus	M. Claudius Marcellus
50	L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus	C. Claudius Marcellus Minor
49	C. Claudius Marcellus Maior	L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus
48	C. Iulius Caesar II	P. Servilius Isauricus
47	Q. Fufius Calenus	P. Vatinius
46	C. Iulius Caesar III	M. Aemilius Lepidus
45	C. Iulius Caesar IV	<i>without colleague</i>
<i>stuff.</i>	Q. Fabius Maximus	C. Trebonius
<i>stuff.</i>	C. Caninius Rebilus	
44	C. Iulius Caesar V	M. Antonius
<i>stuff.</i>	P. Cornelius Dolabella	
43	C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus	A. Hirtius
<i>stuff.</i>	C. Iulius Caesar (Octavianus)	Q. Pedius
<i>stuff.</i>	C. Carrinas	P. Ventidius Bassus
42	M. Aemilius Lepidus II	L. Munatius Plancus
41	L. Antonius Pietas	P. Servilius Isauricus II
40	Cn. Domitius Calvinus II	C. Asinius Pollio
<i>stuff.</i>	L. Cornelius Balbus	P. Canidius Crassus
39	L. Marcius Censorinus	C. Calvisius Sabinus
<i>stuff.</i>	C. Cocceius Balbus	P. Alfenus Varus
38	Ap. Claudius Pulcher	C. Norbanus Flaccus
<i>stuff.</i>	L. Cornelius Lentulus	L. Marcius Philippus

37	M. Agrippa	L. Caninius Gallus
<i>suff.</i>		T. Statilius Taurus
36	L. Gellius Publicola	M. Cocceius Nerva
<i>suff.</i>	L. Nonius Asprenas	Q. Marcius
35	Sex. Pompeius	L. Cornificius
<i>suff.</i>	P. Cornelius Dolabella	T. Peducaeus
34	M. Antonius II	L. Scribonius Libo
<i>suff.</i>	L. Sempronius Atratinus	C. Memmius
<i>suff.</i>	Paullus Aemilius Lepidus	M. Herennius Picens
<i>suff.</i>		L. Volcacius Tullus
33	Imp. Caesar Divi f. II	
<i>suff.</i>	L. Antonius Paetus	
<i>suff.</i>	L. Flavius	C. Fonteius Capito
<i>suff.</i>	M. Acilius Glabrio	
<i>suff.</i>	L. Vinicius	Q. Laronius
32	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus	C. Sosius
<i>suff.</i>	L. Cornelius Cinna	M. Valerius Messalla
31	M. Antonius III (<i>only in the east</i>)	Imp. Caesar Divi f. III
<i>suff.</i>	M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus	
<i>suff.</i>	M. Titius	
<i>suff.</i>	Cn. Pompeius	
30	Imp. Caesar Divi f. IV	M. Licinius Crassus
<i>suff.</i>		C. Antistius Vetus
<i>suff.</i>		M. Tullius Cicero
<i>suff.</i>		L. Saenius
29	Imp. Caesar Divi f. V	Sex. Appuleius
<i>suff.</i>		Potinus Valerius Messalla
28	Imp. Caesar Divi f. VI	M. Agrippa II
27	Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus VII	M. Agrippa III
26	Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus VIII	T. Statilius Taurus II
25	Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus IX	M. Iunius Silanus
24	Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus X	C. Norbanus Flaccus
23	Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus XI	Cn. Calpurnius Piso
<i>suff.</i>	L. Sestius Albanianus Quirinalis	
22	M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus	L. Arruntius
21	M. Lollius	Q. Aemilius Lepidus
20	M. Appuleius	P. Silius Nerva
19	C. Sentius Saturninus	Q. Lucretius Vespillo
<i>suff.</i>	M. Vinicius	
18	P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus
17	C. Furnius	C. Iunius Silanus
16	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	P. Cornelius Scipio
<i>suff.</i>		L. Tarius Rufus
15	M. Livius Drusus Libo	L. Calpurnius Piso

14	M. Licinius Crassus Frugi	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur
13	Ti. Claudius Nero I	P. Quinctilius Varus
12	M. Valerius Messalla Appianus	P. Sulpicius Quirinius
	<i>suff.</i> C. Valgius Rufus	L. Volusius Saturninus
	<i>suff.</i> C. Caninius Rebilus	

suff. = *suffectus*.

Roman Names

M. Caelius T. f. Lemonia Bononia

This is the official name of a centurion of *Legio* XIX preserved on an inscription now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, Germany (*CIL* XIII.8648; *AE* 1952). His name embodies the elements of Roman naming practice. It translates as ‘Marcus Caelius, son of Titus, of the voting tribe of Lemonia, from Bononia’. Marcus is his forename (*praenomen*) by which his family and close friends called him. In inscriptions, public records and narrative texts it was abbreviated. The standard abbreviations for common *praenomina* were:

Aulus

Appius

Caius or Gaius

Cnaeus or Gnaeus

Decimus

Lucius

Marcus

Mamius

Manius

Publius

Quintus

Servius

Sextus

Spurius

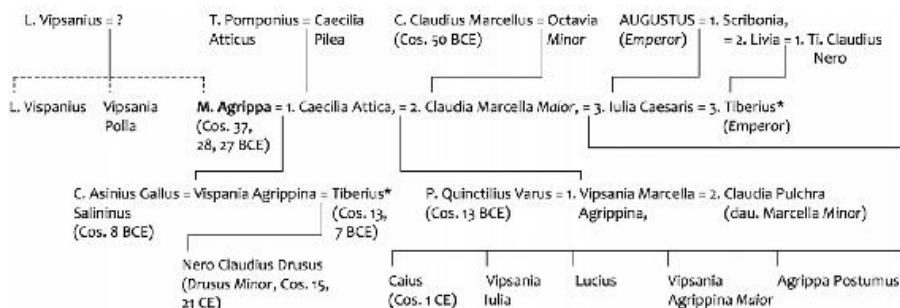
Titus

Tiberius

Caelius is his clan or family name (*nomen gentile*). Many of these clans such as the Claudia and Cornelia were famous old families of Rome with proud traditions. Then follows the filiation or patronymic of the father’s *praenomen*, whose full name would have been Titus Caelius. (If adopted, that change of affiliation was shown in his name

with the addition of *-ianus* at the end of the *nomen gentile*, as in Agrippianus.) As a Roman citizen his family was associated with one of thirty-five voting tribes: in elections Caelius voted with the Lemnian tribe. The final element is the place of his birth (*origo*) or domicile (*domus*), which is in this case Bononia, modern Bologna in Italy. Together these distinguished this particular Marcus Caelius from another bearing the same name. To clearly tell men apart with the same name, with their warped sense of humour, Romans often adopted a third nickname (*cognomen*) such as Rufus 'red haired', Paulus 'shorty' or Brutus 'stupid'. Men who had achieved great victories in war might be granted use of a honourific title (*agnomen*) such as Africanus meaning 'the African' (or 'of Africa'), or Germanicus 'the German' (or 'of Germania') indicating where it was won.

The Family of M. Agrippa



* Tiberius appears twice

---- Indicates uncertainty about the order of birth of the siblings

The Descendants of Agrippa

Through his three marriages, Agrippa would become progenitor to many subsequent members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, whose position he helped to raise.

(by Caecilia Attica)

1. Vipsania Agrippina I, 36 BCE–20 CE, had at least 6 children by 2 husbands (1 by Tiberius, at least 5 by Caius Asinius Gallus).
 - A. Drusus Iulius Caesar, 13 BCE–23 CE, had 3 children.
 - I. Iulia Caesaris, 5–43 CE, had at least 1 child.
 - a. Rubellius Plautus, 33–62 CE, may have had several children.
 - II. Tiberius Iulius Caesar (?Nero) ‘Gemellus’, 19–37 or 38 CE, died without issue.
 - III. Germanicus Iulius Caesar (?Nero) II ‘Gemellus’, 19–23 CE, died young.
 - B. Caius Asinius Pollio, died 45 CE, children unknown.
 - C. Marcus Asinius Agrippa, died 26 CE.
 - D. (?Cnaeus) Asinius Saloninus, died 22 CE.
 - E. Servius Asinius Celer, died before mid-47, had 1 child.
 - I. Asinia Agrippina.
 - F. (?Lucius) Asinius Gallus.

(by Iulia Caesaris)

2. Caius Iulius Caesar, 20 BCE–4 CE, died without issue.
3. Vipsania Iulia (Iulia the Younger), 19 BCE–28 CE, had 2 children.
 - A. Aemilia Lepida (fiancee of Claudius), 4 BCE–53 CE, had 5 children.
 - I. Marcus Iunius Silanus Torquatus, 14–54, had 1 child.
 - a. Lucius Iunius Silanus Torquatus the younger, 50–66, died young.
 - II. Junia Calvina, 15–79, died without issue.
 - III. Decimus Iunius Silanus Torquatus, d. 64 without issue.
 - IV. Lucius Iunius Silanus Torquatus the elder, d. 49 without issue.
 - V. Junia Lepida, ca. 18–65, issue unknown.
 - B. Unnamed illegitimate son (by Decimus Iunius Silanus), d. 8 CE (ordered to be exposed by Augustus).
4. Lucius Iulius Caesar, 17 BCE–2 CE, died without issue.
5. Vipsania Agrippina II (Agrippina the Elder), 14 BCE–33 CE, had 9 children, of whom 3 died young.
 - A. Nero Iulius Caesar, 6–30, died without issue.
 - B. Drusus Iulius Caesar, 7–33, died without issue.
 - C. Caius Iulius Caesar, bef. AD 12–bef. 12 CE.
 - D. Caius Iulius Caesar (Caligula), 12–41, had 1 child.
 - I. Iulia Drusilla, 39–41, died young.
 - E. Iulia Agrippina, 15–59, had 1 child.
 - I. Nero Claudius Caesar (Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus), 37–68, had 1 child.

- a. Claudia Augusta, January 63–April 63; died young.
 - F. Iulia Drusilla, 16–38, died without issue.
 - G. Iulia Livilla, 18–42, died without issue.
 - H. Tiberius Iulius Caesar, ?–? (either born before Nero Caesar, between Drusus Caesar and Caius Caesar (Caligula) or between Caius Caesar (Caligula) and Iulia Agrippina).
 - ?I. Son (name unknown), ?–?
6. Agrippa Postumus, 12 BCE–14 CE, died without issue.

Agrippa ... had in every way clearly shown himself the noblest of the men of his day and had used the friendship of Augustus with a view to the greatest advantage both of the emperor himself and of the Commonwealth.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.29.1.

Chapter 1

New Man in Rome

64–Ides of March 44 BCE

On the horizon he could see the ships coming. It was an impressive, but intimidating sight. Some 200 ships were making straight for his own fleet at speed, intent upon its destruction. Their ships were bigger too. He spotted the purple sail of the most imposing vessel. Aboard the ship covered with gold, glittering in the sunlight, was Kleopatra VII, Queen of Egypt. Somewhere among the line of ships in front of the Egyptian's flotilla was the Roman vessel carrying his sworn enemy, M. Antonius.

The leaders on both sides had rolled the dice on this the second day of September 31 BCE. Upon the choppy waters beyond the narrow opening of the Gulf of Ambracia the almost evenly matched fleets of the two sides would soon clash, but only one force would emerge victorious. The outcome of the battle would determine the fate, not only of the main protagonists and the men they commanded, but of Egypt as an independent state and of the entire Roman world. Win it, and his friend – Iulius Caesar's legitimate heir and inheritor of the great man's name – had a straight shot at eliminating his opposition and returning to Rome as a hero and saviour. Lose it, and the Roman Empire could split into two, its eastern dominions would ally with potentates in Asia, or worse Parthia, and pull an ever tightening noose around the neck of its western rival by denying the Romans their grain supply and tax revenues. He might even be killed in the struggle.

Over the last decade he had earned his friend's complete confidence. On account of it he had been entrusted with winning this critical battle. He had won naval engagements before; but in military matters, he knew only too well, that past results were no guarantee of future success. There was no margin for error today. Of this one thing his friend could be sure. His admiral would not rest until he had

completed his mission. He swayed gently as the ship rocked on the swell of the sea. Then, over his left shoulder, he felt the breeze rising from the northwest. He had been expecting it. In fact, he had been counting on it.

Caesar's commander was ready. His name was Marcus Agrippa.

* * *

Feet First

Mystery enshrouds the origins and childhood of M. Agrippa. It seems that while he was alive he was keen to keep it that way. None of the historical records which have come down to us even preserve the name of his place of birth (*origo*). Central or southern Italy is usually presumed, but not certain. Based solely on his name, one candidate is Argyrippa – also known as Arpi (near modern Foggia) – a town of no particular importance in the first century BCE, located near Monte Gargano in Apulia (Puglia), which faces the Adriatic Sea and today is famous for its sandy beaches.¹ Another is Arpinum (modern Arpino) in Latium, famous as the birthplace of the consuls C. Marius and M. Tullius Cicero.² Yet others have been suggested, but these are no more than guesses. It was certainly not Rome, and that made him an outsider in the eyes of the privileged élite of the big city.³

His date of birth is also disputed. Pliny states that he died 'in his fifty-first year'.⁴ Scholars still debate if this means he had already lived fifty-one years at the time of his death or if it was in the year he would become 51, in which case he had not yet reached his birthday. Cassius Dio asserts he died in the latter half of March 12 BCE.⁵ Thus, his birth year could have been as early as 64 or even as late as 62 BCE.⁶

His clan was the *gens Vipsania*, but it was obscure and next to nothing is known about it. No accounts of the founder of the family or his descendants survive. Agrippa himself consciously suppressed his association during his lifetime, dropping the *nomen gentile* and preferring to be known simply as 'M. Agrippa' or plain 'Agrippa'.⁷ Seneca the Elder records an informative episode from later in Agrippa's life. He is recorded as having remarked that 'he had been born Vipsanius Agrippa, but he had suffered the name of Vipsanius as a sort of proof of his father's humble birth, and so now he was called

M. Agrippa'.⁸ During a trial, the name Vispanius – or absence of it – was the cause of a joke:

When he was defending a party in a lawsuit there was an accuser who said: 'Marcus ... Agrippa, and that which is in the middle ...' (He wanted Vipsanias to be understood). It was he who then said: 'Hurry, both of you! You will both have a disaster here unless one Marcus or the other responds to these matters!'⁹

Why the father's humble birth was a source of acute embarrassment for the son is not known.

The name Agrippa had its own etymology. A *cognomen* was a nickname which often found its origins in the person's physical appearance or some distinguishing feature. In Agrippa's case there may have been a life-changing event which gave rise to his name. The polymath Pliny the Elder – writing in the mid-first century CE – records that the name Agrippa indicates 'a difficult birth', construed from a corruption of the Latin words *aegre partus*, explaining that 'it is contrary to nature for children to come into the world with the feet first, for which reason such children are called *agrippae*'.¹⁰ 'In this manner, M. Agrippa is said to have been born', he continues, adding it was 'the only instance, almost, of good fortune, out of the number of all those who have come into the world under these circumstances'.¹¹ For Pliny, Agrippa was lucky to have survived the first hurdle of life at all, where others had fallen. The family's nickname evidently did not trouble the man who bore it proudly – and perhaps even defiantly – for the rest of his life.

On the ninth day after his birth, the traditional *lustratio*, or purification ceremony, took place. During this cleansing rite his father, whose name was Lucius, formally accepted him as his son and gave him his full Roman name.¹² About his mother, whose name is lost, nothing is known. He had one elder brother, who was named after his father, Lucius, and a sister, Vipsania Polla.¹³ Young Marcus likely played with his brother until either he or Lucius was old enough for school. Pliny alludes to *misera iuventa* – which translates as 'the misfortunes of his youth', or as 'an unhappy youth' – but does not elaborate.¹⁴ Any number of meanings can be read into the phrase – a family tragedy, parental abuse, bullying, poverty or poor health.

Apparently as a young man he was generally physically fit and in good health, but he had to overcome ‘the unfortunate weakness of his legs’.¹⁵ His legs would come to trouble him in later life.

His immediate family’s history is as obscure. The family was not of the nobility (*nobiles*) and he was considered by them as ‘ignoble’ or ‘humble’ – words often used by Roman historians to describe him.¹⁶ These old established families with long histories considered him a *novus homo*, ‘new man’, a label laden with pejorative meaning.¹⁷ His family is assumed to have been plebeian, but a recently advanced theory proposes Agrippa was actually a second-generation Roman citizen whose equestrian-class grandfather or father had acquired citizenship after the Social War – also known as the Allied War – which afflicted Italy in 90 BCE and was won in favour of the allies.¹⁸ If his family was indeed equestrian rather than plebeian in status, Roman law required the head of the family to have property worth at least 400,000 *sestertii* in assets.¹⁹ *Equites* were engaged in commercial and money-lending activities – enterprises forbidden by law to patricians – and Agrippa’s father could have been an affluent individual during his career.²⁰ He would need to be to pay for his youngest son’s education and lodging in Rome.²¹

Agrippa’s early life can, however, be partly reconstructed. From the age of 6 or 7, Agrippa likely attended classes of a *litterator* to learn to read and write, and to master basic arithmetic using the *abacus*.²² At 14, a *grammaticus* would have led him in the study of writers like Andronicus, Ennius and Homer, whose poetic and dramatic works contained insights from astronomy, geography, history, law, mathematics, military science, mythology and philosophy.²³ Fluency in both Latin and Greek were encouraged at an early age, and Agrippa would have been required to demonstrate ability in class to discuss themes from texts in both languages.

In childhood Agrippa would have heard the tale of the rape and suicide of Lucretia, which led M. Iunius Brutus to overthrow the Romans’ last king and establish a new form of self-government by commonwealth (*Res Publica*); and stories of the valiant heroes who defended it, among them C. Mucius Scaevola, P. Horatius Cocles, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus and M. Claudius Marcellus.²⁴ But the *Res Publica* Agrippa grew up in was a shadow of the ideal nation state these men had fought for. By his day, the Roman

commonwealth, that had been shared between the Senate and free citizens voting in their assemblies (see [Appendix 1](#)) for 500 years, was increasingly being manipulated by a few powerful men with immense wealth.²⁵ Through bribery, nepotism and intimidation they overcame the system's checks and balances to pass legislation and decrees favouring their own agendas or to target opponents. Many senators colluded to rig what was supposed to be a secret ballot based on chance, assigning overseas postings to the richest overseas provinces of the empire, which enabled them to fleece the local populations in their care and build enormous personal fortunes. Others augmented their assets through booty gained from wars of conquest provoked to further their own glory, not for the security of the Roman nation. Whereas in the past praetors and consuls led legions of fellow citizens to fight wars in the name of the state, these oligarchs could raise armies paid for from their own resources. The loyalty of these military units was not to the commonwealth, but to their commanders-in-chief who paid their salaries and promised them rich spoils of war and land if they lived to be honourably discharged.²⁶ Politically-motivated emergencies could be provoked, extraordinary powers were then concentrated into a few hands and opposition would be proscribed for death or declared enemies of the state. These were dangerous times for an aspirational young man to grow up in. Dominating the early years of Agrippa's life were men whose names still resound through history, even after two thousand years: Cn. Pompeius Magnus, M. Licinius Crassus and C. Iulius Caesar. As leading protagonists in contemporary events, their unfolding careers would provide young Agrippa with practical lessons in power and politics. Their story starts forty-six years before Agrippa was born, but what they did would shape his world and impact his life.

At the end of the second century BCE, the Roman state had faced down an invasion of Celtic and Germanic tribes from the north. Led by then consul C. Marius (born 157 BCE), who was assisted by his ambitious deputy L. Cornelius Sulla (born c. 138 BCE), they defeated up to 200,000 invaders with a force of just 55,000 in the foothills of the Italian Alps at Vercellae.²⁷ In gratitude for saving the nation, Marius' consulship was renewed for the following year, 100 BCE, making it his sixth.²⁸ It was an extraordinary achievement for an individual regarded as a *novus homo*. While patricians born of families

tracing their origins to the founding of the republic treated such upstarts from the outlying towns of Latium and beyond with suspicion and even derision, however, many of these aristocrats, as well as the great number of common people (*plebs*), now had to admit that the Roman state had indeed been rescued from disaster by him. Ironically, the battle won on the Raudian Plain marked a turning point in Marius' illustrious career and his personal prestige. Recognizing the contribution of the Italian allies (*socii*), Marius had granted them the right of Roman citizenship for bravery in the war.²⁹ Up until Vercellae, Rome's Italian allies had been considered as second class to its own free-born citizens. Though motivated by a sense of justice Marius had failed to observe protocol by not first consulting the Senate or Popular Assemblies: it was simply not his right to issue citizenships.³⁰ By acting in this way, the 'new man' had fulfilled the worst expectations of the conservative Conscript Fathers – he had snubbed the ancient institution and acted unilaterally in the manner of a *dictator* or, worse, a king.³¹ It set a terrible precedent.

While the Roman response at Vercellae sent a clear warning to would-be invaders of Italy to 'keep out', it was the Romans themselves who now threatened the hard-won peace across the peninsula. In 91 BCE a dispute broke out between the Romans and their Italian allies over the issue of rights granted by citizenship and equal treatment before the courts in Rome. The disagreement led to what became known as the War of the Allies or Social War (*Bellum Sociorum*).³² Marius was given command of the Roman army, but fearing he would grow too powerful, and perhaps now in poor health, he was persuaded to relinquish it. Cornelius Sulla took over leadership of the Roman forces and led them to victory in 88 BCE. A new threat, meanwhile, had emerged when Mithradates VI of Pontus laid claim on Rome's dominions in Asia Minor and Greece. Tragically, the Romans' response to the threat split along society class lines. The Plebeian Council (see [Appendix 1](#)) voted unanimously for Marius to lead the war against Mithradates, but the Senate supported Sulla.³³ He refused to accept the validity of the popular vote and civil war ensued. Sulla's army marched directly on Rome, took the city and asserted his right to rule. It was the first time that a Roman commander had committed this act of treason against the *Res Publica*. Once in control, he declared Marius an enemy of the state (*hostis publicus*) and forced him into exile.³⁴

Sulla then promptly left Rome to fight the war in the East. Meanwhile, aided by his ally L. Cornelius Cinna, Marius plotted his return from Africa and, in 87 BCE, at the head of his own army he re-entered Rome.³⁵ He immediately banished Sulla *in absentia* and repealed his regressive laws. Marius died just a few months later – apparently of natural causes, but despised by the people as a tyrant – leaving Cinna ruling Rome alone.³⁶ Sulla was incensed. Having signed a peace treaty with Mithradates, he reentered Rome in 82 BCE under arms whereupon the Senate granted him the authority of *dictator* – giving him supreme but time-limited power to deal with an emergency – and he promptly purged the city of his enemies by way of proscriptions and instituted far reaching reforms of the constitution.³⁷ His work done, he surprised everyone when he resigned within a year and retired to write his memoirs.³⁸ Sulla died from liver failure or a ruptured gastric ulcer aged 60 in 78 BCE and was buried with a lavish state funeral.³⁹

Into the vacuum left by Sulla stepped two powerful men. Born in 106 BCE, Cn. Pompeius was an unlikely protégé of Sulla.⁴⁰ Having taken part in the war against Mithradates in 83 BCE, Pompeius went on to help defeat the remaining supporters of Marius in Italy and secured Sicily for Sulla and, with it, the grain supply which fed Rome's hungry bellies.⁴¹ Building on his military successes, in 81 BCE he took an army to Africa, where he defeated the last of the Marians, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the Numidian king Iarbas.⁴² Recognizing his skillful leadership, his own troops acclaimed him *imperator*, an honorific title meaning 'commander'.⁴³ By then he had come to the notice of Sulla who unofficially – and perhaps mockingly – called him *magnus*, 'the Great', a nickname which stuck.⁴⁴ When Pompeius demanded a triumph for his victories, Sulla refused, saying the honour was reserved for military success over non-Romans; but the younger man took his protest directly to Rome with an army to back his claim. Sulla relented and agreed to allow Pompeius Magnus a victory procession, but only after he had celebrated his own first.⁴⁵ The event was something of a fiasco, causing Pompeius more embarrassment than adulation.⁴⁶ His attempts to rise up the political career ladder (*cursus honorum*) were as unsuccessful. His reputation would not be made in the courtroom or Senate House, however, but in the provinces and on the battlefield. When Sulla died, he was

campaigning against the renegade proconsul Q. Sertorius who had established an independent state in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁷ He was popular with the local people and attracted the support of Roman colonials and ruled for six years.⁴⁸ Supplemented by troops who had defected to his cause, Sertorius commanded a sizeable army and was able to resist Pompeius' attempts to defeat him to the point where he had to appeal to the Senate for reinforcements.⁴⁹ Sertorius was finally brought down, not by a superior army, but by one of his own officers. Pompeius claimed victory, restored the region to Roman control and administered it with noted efficiency.⁵⁰

Independently another student of Sulla was advancing his own career. Born around 115 BCE, as a young man M. Licinius Crassus had fled Cinna's proscriptions and rallied to Sulla's cause in Africa.⁵¹ He proved his value by helping to oust Marius from Rome at the final Battle of the Colline Gate in 82 BCE.⁵² His loyalty was handsomely rewarded during the ensuing confiscations, in particular, of the property of Sulla's enemies in the city.⁵³ Over time he added to his portfolio by using his privately-owned fire service to callously browbeat homeowners into either paying for protection or face losing their homes during Rome's all-too frequent fires.⁵⁴ Those unable to pay, and subsequently finding their properties destroyed, had little choice but to sell their smouldering ruins to him at deep discounts. He then built squalid tenements on the scorched land and leased them out at exorbitant rents. By these means, he amassed property which Pliny the Elder assessed to be worth 200,000,000 *sestertii*.⁵⁵

In the summer of 73 BCE reports arrived in Rome of a slave revolt led by the gladiators Spartacus the Thracian and Crixus the Gaul.⁵⁶ At first the Senate underestimated the threat and failed to mobilize a full and overwhelming response. Embarrassingly, the army of gladiators from Capua, and the thousands of slaves they liberated from the surrounding farms of southern Italy, successfully defeated the legions sent to squash them. For almost two years the growing slave army roamed freely across Italy, wandering as far north as the Alps, before turning south for the heel of the peninsula.⁵⁷ Grabbing the opportunity, Crassus accepted the Senate's offer of command of an army to lead a counter offensive.⁵⁸ He had underestimated his challenge, however. The gladiator-trained army proved to be a formidable opponent. In one battle, men from Crassus' army fled the

field and the embarrassed commander was unable to win the day.⁵⁹ To enforce discipline Crassus angrily resorted to the ancient practice of decimation, in which every tenth man in a unit was chosen by lot for execution.⁶⁰ For his action Crassus earned a reputation as a fierce and feared disciplinarian.⁶¹ Meanwhile, Pompeius had been recalled to Italy to support Crassus.⁶² He audaciously attempted to belittle Crassus' glory by claiming in a letter to the Senate that *his* was the decisive role in ending the Gladiator War, while his rival had merely defeated some slaves.⁶³ Spartacus continued to evade Crassus until his army hunted them down and engaged them at the Battle of the Siler River in the spring of 71 BCE.⁶⁴ There Spartacus' rebel band was finally destroyed by the Roman forces. Crassus ordered an estimated 6,000 of the captives crucified along the *Via Appia*.⁶⁵ In the event, Crassus was not awarded a full triumph, but an *ovatio*, a lower grade of victory celebration.⁶⁶ From that point on animosity grew between the two men, though they both managed to tolerate each other's company long enough to serve as consuls for the year 70.⁶⁷ Just 35 years old and up to that point in his career not even a serving member of the Senate, Pompeius had risen meteorically, and the means by which he had done so set a precedent other men could use to circumvent the age qualifications of the *cursus honorum*.⁶⁸ He was further rewarded three years later with the passing of the *Lex Gabinia*, which, to the consternation of some senators, but urged by Crassus, granted him full legal proconsular power (*imperium proconsulare*) to crush the pirates who harassed traders along the coast of any province within fifty miles of the Mediterranean Sea.⁶⁹ It gave Pompeius unprecedented power over an enormous swath of Roman territory.

Crassus now pursued his political interests in earnest. In 65 BCE he was appointed *censor* – a position responsible for checking the credentials of senators and ensuring that those found guilty of criminal activities were barred from serving in public office – during which he achieved nothing of significance.⁷⁰ Among Rome's up and coming generation, he noticed an ambitious and charismatic, but impoverished, young aristocrat and saw potential in him. His name was C. Iulius Caesar. Born in July 101 or 100 BCE, he was a nephew of Marius who had survived Sulla's proscriptions by going into hiding.⁷¹ After serving in the army in Asia, Caesar returned to Rome where he climbed the first rungs of his political career, becoming

quaestor in 75 BCE.⁷² In each post he spent lavishly, investing his own money for the upkeep of roads when appointed *curator viarum*, or paying for 320 pairs of gladiators, theatrical performances and public banquets as aedile.⁷³ These displays brought Caesar notoriety and popularity, though in reality, as Plutarch notes, he was ‘buying things of the highest value at a small price’.⁷⁴ From Crassus he received his financial backing to seize the post of *Pontifex Maximus* in 63, a priesthood which only expired upon the holder’s death.⁷⁵

Growing Up in Turbulent Times

The year 63 – the first of Agrippa’s life – was an extraordinary one. As proconsul of the East, Pompeius defeated and buried Mithradates VI (who had committed suicide), founded the new province of Syria by taking the Seleucid kingdom by force, and helped install Hyrcanus II on the throne of Iudaea by besieging Hierosolyma (modern Jerusalem).⁷⁶ From his official residence (*Domus Publica*) in the heart of the *Forum Romanum* beside the House of the Vestal Virgins, Caesar exercised the rights and privileges of the ancient religious office, wielding quiet but powerful influence through the political system. In the nearby *Curia Hostilia* where the Senate met, a passionate courtroom lawyer with a gift for public speaking was then serving as consul. Born in 106 BCE in Arpinum, M. Tullius Cicero was a ‘new man’ like Agrippa who spent much of his life struggling to be accepted by the conservative bloc of the Roman upper class (*optimates*).⁷⁷ Despite being an outsider, he had proved to be a skilled courtroom advocate with an unrivalled talent for oratory.⁷⁸ He was a passionate champion of the Roman Commonwealth, and had enjoyed the support of Crassus and Pompeius.⁷⁹ As he would repeatedly claim forever after, he spent his year as consul saving the *Res Publica*: that year L. Sergius Catilina, having failed to win the consulship himself, had attempted to engineer a *coup d’état* and set up a new minority government of wealthy patricians.⁸⁰ Fatefully Cicero made the decision to have the ringleaders executed, but Catilina managed to escape and raise an army in northern Italy. The decision would come back to haunt him. ‘What a thankless task’, he would tell the Senate on 9 November, ‘no less than administering it, is preserving the *Res Publica*!’⁸¹

One of the men Cicero accused of participating in the conspiracy

was P. Clodius Pulcher. The evidence suggests he actually had nothing to do with the plot but it suited the consul's ends to implicate the man who had positioned himself as a champion of the urban *plebs*.⁸² In the eyes of the *optimates*, like M. Porcius Cato Uticensis who despised corruption, he was seen as a disruptive force in Roman politics; Clodius was one of the *populares*, a loose coalition of senators holding a populist agenda, which included redistributing land and supporting free distributions of grain to the poor. One of Rome's colourful characters, he had previously served as a *legatus* and took part in the third war against Mithradates under his brother-in-law L. Licinius Lucullus, but, taking umbridge at the lack of respect he felt was shown, he led a revolt.⁸³ On his return to Rome, he embroiled himself in sexual liaisons with prominent citizens' wives – including Lucullus' – and gate-crashed a sacred rite of the *Bona Dea*, the 'Good Goddess', in which he dressed as a woman intending to seducing the *Pontifex Maximus*' wife Pompeia, with whom he was in love.⁸⁴ He was discovered.⁸⁵ The ensuing scandal dragged on for several months. Despite the appearance of Cicero as a star witness for the prosecution, with the collusion of Caesar (who claimed to know nothing) and the largesse of Crassus (who bribed the jury) Clodius was acquitted on the criminal charge of *incestus*, 'sexual immorality'.⁸⁶

In 61 BCE, on his forty-fifth birthday, Pompeius re-entered Rome in triumph.⁸⁷ It was a spectacular ticker-tape style parade in which war spoils were displayed on decorated carts and chained captives following behind the commander as he rode in his chariot with his victorious troops through the streets and up to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill to offer thanks. He had earned it. In the six years he had been on campaign he had not only decisively crushed the pirates, but he had annexed four new provinces – Bithynia et Pontus, Syria, Cilicia and Crete – and made treaties with client-kings (notably the Hashmonean dynasty), which gave Rome indirect control of regions without the administrative burden and military expense. Through his actions, he had extended Rome's political influence as far as the Black Sea and the Caucasus, established thirty-nine new cities and brought back such immense wealth in coin and plate it exceeded the annual revenues of the Roman state from taxation.⁸⁸

Caesar, meantime, was away serving a term as *praetor* in Hispania Citerior, in part paid for by Crassus.⁸⁹ There he waged war against the

Gallaeci and the Lusitani in the northwest of the peninsula and, after conquering them, he established a civilian administration to govern the territory.⁹⁰ In late 60 BCE he returned to Rome where he mediated between Crassus and Pompeius. Out of the talks emerged a political coalition of the three men (*triumviri*), which has since become known as the First Triumvirate.⁹¹ To bind them together, Caesar offered his daughter Iulia to Pompeius in marriage.⁹² The following year Caesar was rewarded with election as consul.⁹³ He immediately began work on legislation to redistribute land to Rome's poor, despite strong opposition from Cato and Lucullus.⁹⁴ At the same time Pompeius received the land grants he needed to honourably discharge his veteran troops who had reached the end of their service in the East; but his best years were now behind him.⁹⁵

With the *Bona Dea* scandal fading in the popular memory, Clodius provocatively resigned his patrician status and enrolled as a plebeian. With the approval of Pompeius, he was elected tribune in 59.⁹⁶ He immediately presented legislation making it a capital offence for a Roman to execute another without trial or for anyone to provide shelter or sustenance to one.⁹⁷ It was aimed squarely at Cicero, who went hurriedly into exile in northern Greece.⁹⁸ All his properties in Italy were confiscated and his home on the Palatinus in Rome was razed.⁹⁹ Clodius then drove through a series of populist plebiscites passed by the Plebeian Council, which prevented magistrates from suspending meetings of the Tribal Assembly if the auspices were deemed unfavourable; set strict new rules by which the censors worked; allowed Romans to meet freely in political clubs, that had been banned in 80 BCE, probably by Sulla; extended voting rights; and provided for distribution of public grain at no charge to the city's poor.¹⁰⁰

In 58 BCE Caesar embarked on his epic campaign to assimilate the tribal nations of Gaul into the Roman Empire, famously described in his 'Briefing on the Gallic War'.¹⁰¹ Beginning with the Helvetii, he proceeded to defeat tribe after tribe, and reports of his valour and derring-do filtered back to Rome.¹⁰² Pompeius assumed governorship of Hispania Ulterior, but decided to remain in Rome where, as *curator annonae*, he supervised distribution of the grain dole. He then absorbed himself in life with his new wife and in his designs for a new entertainment complex with a theatre – Rome's first permanent

building of its type for plays and musicals – on the Campus Martius, which would serve as a monument to his achievements and paid for (*ex manubiis*) by the spoils of his wars.¹⁰³ The Triumvirate, however, was coming apart. Needing more time to continue his campaign against the Gallic nations, in 56 Caesar sought help and met first with Crassus, then Pompeius. He secured agreement for his own *imperium proconsulare* to be extended for a further five years.¹⁰⁴ In reciprocation, Crassus would take command of Syria – from where he planned to launch a war against Parthia – and Pompeius would retain Hispania Ulterior. Over the ensuing years their fortunes differed widely. The Theatre of Pompeius was opened in 55, but the following year Iulia died in childbirth, along with the baby, leaving Pompeius a widower.¹⁰⁵ Crassus' luck ran out too. In 53 he led his army to utter defeat at Carrhae with the survivors and all the legionary standards (*signa*) captured.¹⁰⁶ Caesar continued his succession of victories in Gallia Comata and Belgica, crossing the Rhine River into Germania Magna in 55, the English Channel over to Britain the same year, and again in 54.¹⁰⁷ Caesar was now being talked of as Rome's greatest living military commander, which did not please Pompeius.

Clodius pressed on with his populist agenda. Since his tribunate, the streets of Rome had run with the blood of its own citizens who fought over the matter of recalling Cicero.¹⁰⁸ The *optimates* now had a champion in T. Annius Milo Papianus. Milo had played a prominent role in having Cicero's sentence of exile rescinded in 57 despite opposition from Clodius who had used armed gangs (*factiones*) of slaves and gladiators to intimidate voters.¹⁰⁹ Milo had them arrested. Standing for consul in 53, he had assembled his own armed gang. Passing by pure chance on the *Via Appia*, the gangs of Clodius and Milo clashed. Clodius was killed in the violent fracas.¹¹⁰ His battered body was carried to the *Forum Romanum* and laid on a pyre inside the *Curia Hostilia*. When set alight, the building was engulfed in flames and burned down. Until it could be rebuilt, the Senate would have to meet in an alcove of the Theatre of Pompeius.

What the Conscript Fathers most feared was a civil war out of which one man would seize supreme power (*dominatio*) and shut down the Roman Commonwealth and with it the *libertas* of every Roman. With defeated Crassus dead, and a victorious Caesar having a massive army behind him in Gaul, there was only one man with the

means and prestige able to stand up to him – Pompeius Magnus who had his army in Hispania and Africa. The problem was, as Cicero put it, ‘each wants to be king’.¹¹¹ Cato submitted a resolution to the vote which terminated Caesar’s proconsular powers.¹¹² Caesar tried to negotiate: he would surrender his army if Pompeius did the same.¹¹³ When the Senate requested of Caesar to release *Legiones* I and XV so they could be transferred to the East he complied. He had no reason not to. After Carrhae Rome’s eastern border now lay exposed and Caesar was keen to do his patriotic duty. However, Caesar later learned that the two legions he had released from his service had not gone to Syria, but instead had remained in Italy. He interpreted the slight to mean the Senate mistrusted him. If Caesar surrendered his command he would no longer have immunity from a prosecution and the inevitable exile. If he did not obey the Senate’s order, however, he would be declared enemy of the state and Pompeius could be made sole consul in charge of the army, a concession even Cato appeared willing to make.¹¹⁴

The following year, while sojourning in Ravenna, Caesar received a report hand delivered by the tribunes sympathetic to him in Rome. On 7 January 49 BCE the Senate had demanded under a decree of *senatus consultum ultimum* that he relinquish command of all ten of his legions, with the instruction ‘the consuls, the praetors, the tribunes, and all the proconsuls who are near the city shall take measures that the state incur no harm’.¹¹⁵ Facing a prosecution he likely could not win, he chose to take the matter into his own hands and sought justice on his own terms. On the evening of 10 or 11 January the men of *Legio* XIII and 300 cavalry advanced towards Ariminum (modern Rimini).¹¹⁶ With them, driving a hired cart, Plutarch reports, was Iulius Caesar.¹¹⁷ Soon they came to the banks of the Rubico – the accepted border of demilitarized home-land.¹¹⁸ Crossing the Rubicon River would be an act of treason; but true to his character Caesar, now 50 years of age, took a calculated gamble. The battle hardened army was his protection. ‘Take we the course which the signs of the gods and the false dealing of our foes points out’, he said, quoting the playwright Menander’s line, ‘the die are cast’.¹¹⁹ Then he waded into the river. His men followed. The Roman Commonwealth was suddenly plunged into civil war.

The Senate hoped the people of Italy would rally to the defence of

the *Res Publica*. It had gravely miscalculated. Hearing of the seizure of Ariminum by Caesar, the civic leaders of the other cities – *coloniae* and *municipiae* – were skeptical about the Senate in Rome coming to their rescue, and stayed home behind their securely shut doors.¹²⁰ Caesar kept two cohorts of *Legio XIII* with him at Ariminum, despatched five cohorts under the command of his deputy, M. Antonius, to Arretium (modern Arezzo), and dispersed the rest to local towns.¹²¹ He knew he could count on his men. *Legiones* I and XV were already stationed in the peninsula, and bolstering his numbers of troops he would soon be joined by V *Alaudae*, VIII and XII from Gallia Comata. He also raised an all-new unit, *Legio XVI*, which he immediately despatched to Africa.

Panic now gripped the Conscript Fathers, huddled together in Rome.¹²² Pompeius, their champion, was willing to fight for their cause, having superiority in number of legions, but they were still deployed in Hispania and Africa. He needed time to rally his army for battle at a time and in a place of his choosing. Rather than stand and fight at that moment and risk losing, Pompeius argued they should evacuate the city and regroup in Greece. On 17 March the Senate relented and fled.¹²³

In the Service of Caesar

In that tumultuous spring of 49 BCE, at the age of 15, Agrippa formally became a man. On the morning of the ceremony, he took off the amulet (*bullā*) he had worn as a boy for the last time and donned his new all-white gown (*toga pura*), which was only worn by men who were Roman citizens.¹²⁴ Then he walked in a procession of his family and friends through the *Forum Romanum* (*deductio in forum*) to the public records office where his name was entered into the rolls of Roman citizens. The celebration over, he would return to school to continue his education. At an unknown moment during this period and under unrecorded circumstances, Agrippa was introduced to a boy just months younger than himself.¹²⁵ His name was C. Octavius Thurinus. Smart and intellectually gifted, Octavius was equestrian and born in Velitrae, not Rome, and his father was not particularly distinguished either.¹²⁶ His mother, Atia, however, was Iulius Caesar's niece, and this connection would prove highly significant.¹²⁷ The two young men quickly found common ground and became firm friends,

forming a bond which would endure through four decades of personal hardships and public threats, but also life-changing opportunities and unimaginable successes.

At this age Agrippa would have begun to study the art of public speaking. Octavius' teacher was the highly-respected but aged *rhetor* Apollodorus of Pergamum.¹²⁸ Indeed, the two boys may have met while studying rhetoric. Agrippa certainly had a talent for public speaking in later life. One of his speeches from adulthood was known to Pliny the Elder who described it as an *oratio magnifica*, 'a magnificent oration', attesting to his accomplished skill.¹²⁹ Under the guidance of this teacher of oratory from Asia Minor, Agrippa and his friend practised different styles and techniques until they had mastered them. The ability to frame arguments, by informing, persuading and motivating an audience to his point of view, was considered essential to the aspiring politician and lawyer. A well delivered speech was a theatrical performance. During his training, a speaker learned how to compose a speech with great care and to deliver his words with drama, modulate emotion of the voice and choreograph hand gestures to wring the passions from every statement. The greatest orator of Agrippa's lifetime was Cicero. He had been educated at Rhodes by Apollonius of Molon, the same *rhetor* who had taught Iulius Caesar.¹³⁰ Of rhetoric, Cicero wrote as a young man of 20, 'the duty of this faculty appears to be to speak in a manner suitable to persuading men; the end of it is to persuade by language.'¹³¹ He noted how 'rhetoric is one great art comprised of five divisions: invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery'.¹³² Apollodorus would have coached his students in these respects and advised them how the successful speaker should use notes, paraphrase poetry and prose, and even wit to move his listeners.

Outside the classroom, with Caesar's troops now occupying Rome, to survive Agrippa would need to keep his wits about him. Having the friendship of Caesar's great nephew would help. Abandoned by many of its leading political figures – Cicero and Cato among them – Caesar had now assumed control of Rome. In just sixty days Caesar had secured the whole of Italy virtually without opposition.¹³³ Remarkably he was conciliatory towards his opponents who had stayed behind and he also sent a deputation after Pompeius proposing terms of a truce.¹³⁴ To prevent the legions coming to Pompeius' assistance,

however, he immediately set off for Hispania: his swift action neutralized them.¹³⁵ Then he returned to Rome where the Senate appointed him *dictator*. After passing legislation to allow many exiles to return and to right certain injustices he resigned the post eleven days later and then departed at breakneck speed for Greece.¹³⁶ At Apollonia he was joined by M. Antonius and together they set about provoking Pompeius to fight.¹³⁷ Pompeius had had time to prepare for the inevitable encounter. Caesar was less well prepared than his friend turned foe and, in the absence of rations, his troops were forced to eat bread made of meal from ground up roots; but Pompeius' men were demoralized too, fearful from having heard of the fierce reputation of the soldiers they were due to face.¹³⁸ Finally on 9 August 48 BCE the army of the Senate – numbering 45,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry – met Caesar's – comprising 22,000 foot and 1,000 horse – at Pharsalus.¹³⁹ Despite his greatly superior numbers, Pompeius was decisively defeated. Caesar pardoned many of the captured men who had opposed him, including M. Iunius Brutus, a descendant of the man who had ousted Rome's last king.¹⁴⁰ Pompeius escaped to Egypt, but on reaching the shore he was struck down and beheaded by an officer of Pharaoh Ptolemy XIII.¹⁴¹ Caesar was still in hot pursuit with *Legiones* VI and XXVII and only learned on his arrival in Alexandria of the fate of his opponent when he was shown his severed head. Caesar was said to have recoiled in horror at the sight of it, and accepting Pompeius' personal seal ring, broke down in tears.¹⁴² Thereafter he supported the Egyptian king's sister, wife and co-regent, Kleopatra VII, in her claim to the throne and began his famous liaison with her.¹⁴³

From Egypt Caesar went to Asia Minor, where he defeated Pharnakes (Pharnaces), the son of Mithradates VI of Pontus, at the Battle of Zela (modern Zile in northern Turkey); afterwards he wrote a letter to Amanitius in Rome in which he used the famous phrase *veni, vidi, vici* – 'came, saw, won'.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile the remnants of the Pompeian opposition had assembled in Africa, among whom was Agrippa's own brother Lucius.¹⁴⁵ Taking six legions with him, Caesar engaged the diehards, led by Cato and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, but the struggle was tougher than he had anticipated because they had augmented their numbers with the forces of King Iuba II of Numidia.¹⁴⁶ Only after he had called upon his veterans – seasoned men who were recalled after leaving the service – did he have the

numbers he needed to finally engage his opponents at Thapsus. On 6 April 46 BCE, his enemies were crushed with casualties reported – probably with great exaggeration – as high as 50,000 to less than fifty on his own side.¹⁴⁷ Returning from Africa to Rome, in September 46 BCE he celebrated an unprecedented quadruple triumph during which Kleopatra put in a guest appearance – Octavius was permitted to follow behind him.¹⁴⁸ It was an unforgettable four-day event Agrippa may himself have witnessed as an 18-year-old.

While the Roman world turned upside down, young Marcus was still at school mastering the art of public speaking. His friendship with Octavius emboldened him to ask a favour of his friend's great uncle:

His brother [Lucius] was with Cato [Uticensis] and treated with much respect; he had participated in the African War, but was at this time taken captive. Although Octavius had never yet asked anything of Caesar he wanted to beg the prisoner off, but he hesitated because of modesty and at the same time because he saw how Caesar was disposed toward those who had been captured in that war. However, he made bold to ask it, and had his request granted. Thereupon he was very glad at having rescued a brother for his friend and he was praised by others for employing his zeal and right of intercession first of all for a friend's safety.¹⁴⁹

Whether Iulius Caesar had met Agrippa at this point is unknown, but by Nikolaos of Damaskos' account he was clearly aware of his great nephew's friend. In the meantime, Caesar had placed Octavius in charge of productions at two theatres in Rome, in which Agrippa may have assisted.¹⁵⁰

The Roman commander now turned his attention to the Iberian Peninsula where Cnaeus and Sextus Pompeius, the sons of Pompeius Magnus, aided by Caesar's own former deputy T. Labienus who had played a prominent role in the Gallic War, were leading a revolt.¹⁵¹ Caesar instructed his 17-year-old great nephew to join him.¹⁵² Gaining first-hand military experience was a pre-requisite for a successful political career. Just seventeen years earlier, Cicero had said:

preeminence in military skills excels all other virtues. It is this which has procured its name for the glory of the Roman

people; it is this which has compelled the whole world to submit to our dominion; all domestic affairs, all these illustrious pursuits of ours, and our forensic renown, and our industry, are safe under the protection of military valour. The highest dignity is in those men who excel in military glory.¹⁵³

For a regular soldier (*miles gregarius*), training to turn a citizen into a war fighter (*bellator*) and instilling the warrior ethic in him was organized and intense (plate 8). For an officer it was very different. Remarkably, despite the great value placed on war fighting, there was no formal officer training in the Roman world. Experience had to be gained the hard way through active service. Personal prestige was earned by proving one's courage (*virtus*) through acting boldly and showing no weakness in the heat of battle, especially at the risk of losing one's own life. Perhaps Iulius Caesar saw the campaign in Hispania Ulterior as a low risk theatre of operations in which Octavius could become an officer and learn how to command soldiers under his aegis. Octavius agreed to join his great uncle, but Nikolaos records that he was taken ill from overexerting himself on the theatre productions and was deemed not fit enough to accompany him on the outbound journey in November 46.¹⁵⁴ It is possible, however, that Agrippa, now old enough to enrol in the army, did set off to join Caesar on his campaign. The poet M. Manlius makes a cryptic comment to the effect that Agrippa had begun military service at a young age, though at what level of command he does not say.¹⁵⁵ It was certainly an unmissable career opportunity. As a plebeian he would likely have started service as a one of the regular legionaries, 6,000 at full strength, organized into centuries of eighty men under the command of a *centurio* (plate 6). Six centuries formed a cohort – the basic tactical unit – and ten *cohortes* formed a legion. However, as a member of the equestrian class he would have been eligible to join as a junior officer, likely as one of the five junior military tribunes (*tribuni angusticlavii*) in a legion.¹⁵⁶ Caesar had taken a group of young aristocrats and equestrians with him on his Gallic campaign, hoping they would be eager to prove themselves on the battlefield, but they were political appointments and he was disappointed by the lack of initiative or courage many displayed. For a man at the beginning of his career it was a spectacular way to learn military science directly

from one of its legendary master practitioners. Such a position could give the young man direct access to the legate of the legion (usually a senator) – perhaps to proconsul Caesar himself – and a place at his *concilium* (the handpicked advisory war council) where he would see at first hand the general deliberate over his strategy and tactics with his deputies. Agrippa might have been granted a special dispensation as a friend of Caesar's great nephew and served as an officer – if not a tribune then possibly as one of the *immunes* or *principales* (plate 7) who had special duties, but it is entirely speculative.

On 17 March 45 BCE, Iulius Caesar engaged the rebels with the help of the same legions who had brought him victory in Gallia Comata.¹⁵⁷ Agrippa *may* have been there (map 1). At Munda, on a plain between the two camps of the opposing forces, were arrayed the Pompeian battle lines consisting of 13 legions, screened on the flanks by cavalry as well as 6,000 lightly-armed troops plus nearly as many again of auxiliary troops; and Caesar's much smaller force, composed of only 8 legions and 8,000 cavalry.¹⁵⁸ Caesar placed *Legio* X – his strongest – on the right wing and *Legiones* III and V with the auxiliary *cohors equitata* on the right. On the given order, the brass horns sounded, the men bellowed out a terrible war cry and Caesar's soldiers rushed towards Pompeius' dense line, swords drawn and shields held close. In his own account of the battle Iulius Caesar writes,

and so, as the motley din – shouts, groans, the clash of *gladii* – assailed their ears, it shackled the minds of the inexperienced with fear. Hereupon, as Ennius puts it, 'foot forces against foot and weapons grind 'gainst weapons'; and in the teeth of very strong opposition our men began to drive the enemy back.¹⁵⁹

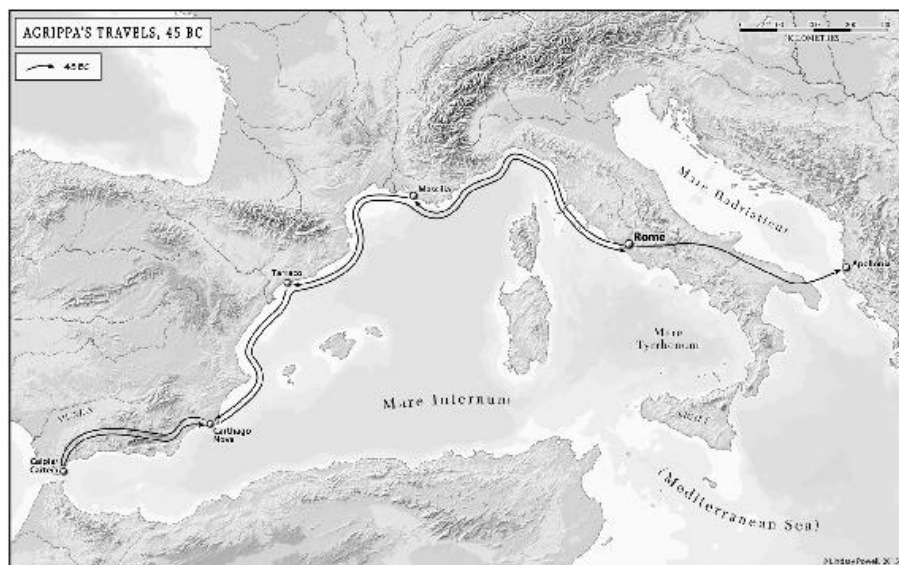
The opposing troops then retreated behind the walls of the nearby town of Munda, which Caesar's men then blockaded under the command of Q. Fabius Maximus.¹⁶⁰ To strike fear into the men trapped inside they resorted to a form of psychological warfare:

Scuta and *pila* taken from among the enemy's weapons were placed to serve as a palisade, dead bodies as a rampart; on top, impaled on *gladius* points, severed human heads were ranged in a row all facing the town, the object being not merely to enclose the enemy by a palisade, but to afford him an awe-

inspiring spectacle by displaying before him this evidence of valour.¹⁶¹

The siege was conducted both by day and by night. The Pompeians finally capitulated and 14,000 men were taken captive.¹⁶² Meantime, rumours reached Sex. Pompeius in Corduba (modern Cordoba) that the battle was lost. He departed leaving word that he was going to parley with Caesar. Meanwhile an attempt by his brother to escape via the naval base at Calpia (Carteia), 170 miles away from Corduba, was foiled and when Caesar's men intercepted the fugitive they decapitated him.¹⁶³ In the confusion, Sextus managed to get away.¹⁶⁴ The campaign would have been a brutal introduction to war fighting for a young novice soldier more used to the life in the big city.

However, there is a possible alternative version of Agrippa's first military engagement. When he had fully recovered, Octavius himself departed with a retinue of slaves, landing at Tarraco (Taragona) in Hispania Citerior.¹⁶⁵ Once there, he was dismayed to discover that Caesar had already long since left and Octavius had to follow after him as best he could, putting himself at risk from attacks by brigands as well as his uncle's fleeing enemies as he headed deeper inland.¹⁶⁶ When he finally did track down his great uncle to Calpia, Octavius was warmly greeted and treated to the comforts of his own tent and transportation.¹⁶⁷ Expecting to be told the details of his mission, he learned, however, that Caesar had already won the war, completing the mission in just seven months!¹⁶⁸ Curiously, even though he was last to depart, it seems Octavius 'was the first of those who had set out from Rome to arrive'.¹⁶⁹ If Agrippa was one of those who had departed the city first, taking Nikolaos' remark at face value, he also missed the fight – and with it the chance for glory.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps for actually carrying out his orders and following him to Spain, Octavius was appointed by Caesar to join the pontificate, an order of priests, and granted the post of Master of Horse (*magister equitum*), an honorary position he awarded at his own discretion for one year.¹⁷¹ Agrippa received no equivalent honours at this time.



Map 1. Agrippa's Travels 45 BCE.

It was the last war Iulius Caesar would fight.¹⁷² With the revolt quelled, there was no reason for his party to remain any longer than necessary in the Iberian Peninsula. Not one for dithering, Iulius Caesar knew he needed to be back in Rome to assert his control as soon as possible.¹⁷³ He planned his departure from Carthago Nova (Cartagena) from where the transports would hug the shoreline bound for Tarraco and thence to Massilia, bound for Ostia, the port of Rome. As related by Nikolaos of Damaskos,

arrangements were made whereby Octavius embarked in the same boat as Caesar, with five slaves, but, out of affection, he took three of his companions aboard in addition to the slaves, though he feared that Caesar would be angry when he found this out. However, the reverse was the case, for Caesar was pleased in that Octavius was fond of his comrades and he commended him because he always liked to have present with him men who were observant and who tried to attain to excellence; and because he was already giving no little thought to gaining a good reputation at home.¹⁷⁴

One of these companions was Q. Salvidienus Rufus, a new man of obscure origin, about whom it was said that while he was tending his flocks as a youth a flame had shot up from his head, and who was perhaps serving as an equestrian officer in the army of Iulius Caesar.¹⁷⁵ The other was Agrippa (the third is unknown).

The young travellers reached Rome safely and rested there over the summer.¹⁷⁶ On the few occasions Octavius – unusually for a teenager known for his abstinence, moderation and sobriety – hosted dinners, Agrippa (plate 1) was certainly among the friends invited. It was while he was in the city at this time that Octavius' status was elevated to that of patrician; but he did not turn his back on his friends. Three months later they were on the road again.¹⁷⁷ Their next destination was Apollonia in Illyricum, the coastal province of the western Balkans.¹⁷⁸ With the Civil War over, Iulius Caesar turned his attention next to an expedition against the Getae and Parthians, and planned on taking Octavius with him; but while the preparations were being made, he insisted that his great nephew should continue to study the arts of war.¹⁷⁹ Though winter was fast approaching, Apollonia was a fine place for a group of smart young men to be

based. Located right on the coast at the mouth of the Aous River (modern-day Vjosë), the city had a harbour, large enough to hold a hundred ships at a time. Founded by Greek immigrants in 588 BCE, it had been taken by the Romans in 229. In his *Geography*, Strabo describes the city as exceedingly well-governed.¹⁸⁰ Under Roman control, the city flourished on the profits of the slave trade and the produce of local agriculture. Its settlers, who had come from Italy as traders and farmers, were friendly towards its important visitors, though the same could not be said of the indigenous people.¹⁸¹

Once established in the town, Octavius began his military training and he was almost certainly joined by Agrippa during those sessions. From the legions stationed in neighbouring Macedonia, which had been assembled there for the planned Gaetic-Parthian campaign, mounted troops ‘were sent to him by turns for the purpose of drill’, writes Appian, ‘and certain army officers visited him frequently as a relative of Caesar.’¹⁸² One of them might have been the *legatus legionis* M. Acilius Glabrio.¹⁸³ Octavius learned to use his celebrity status with good grace, out of which ‘an acquaintance and good feeling grew up by means of them between himself and the army’.¹⁸⁴

Between military exercises, there was time for academic study. Apollonia had for several years attracted ambitious young Romans looking for the best masters of rhetoric and declamation. Octavius took Apollodorus of Pergamum on the trip with him from Rome to Apollonia so that he could continue his education.¹⁸⁵ In their spare time, Agrippa and Octavius relaxed in the coastal city. A curious incident is recorded. In Apollonia there lived a renowned astrologer named Theogenes. We might imagine one friend daring the other to have his fortune told. Suetonius records that Agrippa went first and sat with the fortune-teller in his top floor apartment. The older man studied the younger and predicted ‘great and almost incredible fortunes’ for him.¹⁸⁶ Agrippa’s boldness contrasted with his friend’s reticence. Octavius made excuses not to follow after his friend out of ‘mixture of shame and fear that he might be found less eminent’, but under the pressure of Agrippa’s continual taunts eventually he relented.¹⁸⁷ Without identifying who he was, he sat face-to-face with Theogenes. He immediately saw that Octavius was destined for great things. The mystic sprang up and knelt before the young man, offering his profound respects. By his actions in later life Agrippa would show

how he really felt about astrologers and charlatans, but at this moment, the boys may have laughed and dismissed the predictions as they left the astrologer's studio.¹⁸⁸ Yet events would prove them to be uncannily accurate.



Figure 1. The assassins, who struck down Iulius Caesar with daggers, commemorated their violent deed on a special coin. The fall-out of 'EID[VS] MAR[TIAS]', 15 March 44 BCE, transformed M. Agrippa's life.

The bitter cold of winter gradually receded, and the first signs of spring appeared. He and Agrippa had been in Illyrcium for four – another source says six – months when, one evening, Octavius was approached to receive a freedman just arrived from Rome.¹⁸⁹ He had travelled as fast as he could under direct instructions of the boy's mother, Atia. He brought a letter from her. In 'excitement and dismay' the man handed over the document.¹⁹⁰ The young man read it with growing sadness and increasing concern. His great uncle had been murdered.¹⁹¹ Rome was in chaos.

Now everything would change.

Chapter 2

Champion of the New Caesar

16 March 44–40 BCE

Caesar is Dead! Long Live Caesar!

Agrippa's role over the next three years is imprecise. He lives in the shadow of Octavius and the unfolding story of his rise to power, closely tracking the movements of his friend, and contributing to major decisions as an advisor and confidant.

In late March 44 BCE, Octavius ([plate 5](#)) did not yet know how he stood to benefit from the will and testament of Iulius Caesar, or indeed if he did at all.¹ He was not first in line of inheritance, but actually third after the *dictator's* other great nephews, L. Pinarius and Q. Pedius. Pinarius had done nothing to distinguish himself, whereas Pedius had served with Caesar in the Gallic War as a *legatus legionis* with distinction.² He had also been at Pharsalus (48 BCE) and Thapsus (46 BCE), and pursued Pompeius Magnus' sons to Hispania Citerior, but was unable to engage them decisively.³ Significantly, however, during his triumph, it was Octavius alone of his extended family who Caesar had permitted to ride in his chariot (*currus*) and bestowed on him military decorations normally given to men who had actually seen action in the campaign.⁴ He had been on intimate terms with the *dictator*, accompanying him to banquets and theatre productions. As a surviving relative Octavius felt compelled to return to Rome to pay his respects and receive what portion of the estate his great uncle had bequeathed him, no matter how small. With the *dictator's* death, the planned expedition to Parthia was cancelled indefinitely, and there was now no reason for him and friends, Agrippa and Salvidienus, to remain in Apollonia. Information about the situation in Rome was now reaching him from different sources.⁵ Octavius was uncertain what to do. The officers of the legion in Macedonia under M. Acilius and men of the cavalry units they had trained with offered their

support and suggested he relocate to their camp for his personal safety.⁶ He turned to those around him for advice. Nikolaos reports that some of his friends – which might mean Agrippa and Salvidienus – urged him to accept the army’s offer and join them and then take them to Italy where they could avenge Caesar’s murder in force.⁷ However, their friend was torn between that advice and the recommendation of his mother to make a low key return to Rome as a private citizen.⁸

Octavius finally made up his mind. Overruling his friends and the military advisors, he took the lower profile option. Agrippa packed up his belongings and prepared to depart Apollonia with him; the *rhetor* asked to be allowed to return to his home in Pergamum.⁹ For the rest their destination was the Italian port of Brundisium, but uncertain of what awaited them, Octavius prudently sent ahead of him scouts to assess the situation and report back.¹⁰ News spread quickly around the Adriatic port city that Octavius was leaving. Crowds turned out in large numbers, some to wish him a safe voyage, others urging him to stay among them where everyone could be considered as his friend.¹¹ The young man was very taken by the affection of the Balkan people. He never forgot their warm support and when his political power enabled him to do so, ‘he conferred on them autonomy and immunity and some other not inconsiderable favors, and made it one of the most fortunate cities’.¹² But the mind of Caesar’s heir was made up. The trio of Octavius, Agrippa and Salvidienus could delay no longer. They boarded a ship and set sail for Italy ([map 2](#)).

Ever cautious, the young men landed, not in Brundisium, but somewhere along the coast of Puglia and went first to the nearby town of Lupiae (Lecce).¹³ Now back on Italian soil Octavius began to receive new correspondence. Some family members – his mother Atia and stepfather Philippus among them – urged him to renounce his inheritance as it put him in terrible personal peril.¹⁴ They had underestimated their young relative. ‘He thought that to do so, and *not* to avenge Caesar,’ writes Appian, ‘would be disgraceful’.¹⁵ In the meantime, the 18-year-old was appalled to learn that, while Antonius had had a large military force available to pursue the assassins, instead he had ‘for the present given up his plan to avenge Caesar’s murder’.¹⁶ It seemed to Octavius that the assassins, far from being punished for their crime, had literally got away with murder.¹⁷

Antonius was an experienced soldier and politician and had a much more nuanced plan of action.¹⁸ On the day of the assassination Antonius had fled the scene of the murder, disguising himself as a slave and rushed to his house fearing he would be next on the murderers' list.¹⁹ When he felt confident that he was not at risk, the following day he left the confines of his house and headed for the centre of the city. The self-styled liberators had achieved their stated aim of removing the *dictator* and sought no further conflict. As news of the murder had spread panicked crowds fled from the *Forum*.²⁰ Their hands still stained crimson with blood, still clasping their daggers, they had retreated to the security of the Capitoline Hill and recruited gladiators and bodyguards for protection; but now they needed a way out.²¹ Assassin M. Iunius Brutus came down and spoke from the *Rostra* in the *Forum Romanum* encouraging the people to take back their *libertas*, but when co-conspirator Cinna denounced Caesar, the crowd, which up to that point had listened respectfully, broke into a riot and the two men fled back up the hill.²²

On 17 March, Cicero, who had taken no part in the murder plot, negotiated a general amnesty.²³ The conspirators would be officially pardoned and even accorded honours. Cunningly Antonius presented himself as a friend of the liberators and even placed his own son as a hostage in their care as a token of his good faith.²⁴ Antonius dined with Brutus, his colleague M. Aemilius Lepidus with assassin C. Cassius Longinus.²⁵ Assured of his peaceful intentions, the conspirators agreed to Antonius' proposal to pass all of Julius Caesar's acts, and to let him speak at the funeral. Next day, the Senate assembled and voted that the conspirators should each be assigned provinces: to Brutus went Crete, to Cassius Cyrenaica, C. Trebonius Asia, L. Tillius (Metellus) Cimber Bithynia, and to D. Iunius Brutus Albinus (no relation to Marcus) was given Gallia Cisalpina.²⁶ Pompeius Magnus' son Sextus was recalled and certain exiles were allowed to return.²⁷ Behind the scenes Antonius had been quietly making sure key people received positions which could advance his own interests. With the agreement of Caesar's wife Calpurnia, Antonius, who was still legitimate consul for 44 BCE, had taken the *dictator's* private papers, his decrees and the last testament into his care.²⁸ He inserted into the unpublished decrees the names of men he wanted in government positions so that when they were announced it

appeared that they had been the former deceased consul's wishes.²⁹ This way he arranged for his brother Caius to be appointed *praetor urbanus* and Lucius as tribune of the people.³⁰



Map 2. Agrippa's Travels 44-40 BCE.

As the executor of Iulius Caesar's will and estate, Antonius presented the *dictator's* bloodied and desecrated body in the *Forum Romanum* and gave the speech of his life.³¹ By the time he had delivered his last words the common people had been swept up into a violent rage.³² They rampaged through the centre of the city, setting fire to the Senate House and adjacent market halls.³³ Dragging out from the buildings anything combustible, they raised a heap at the southern end of the *Forum*, laid the body of Caesar upon the makeshift pyre and set it alight. Witnessing the violent commotion, the conspirators fled the city.³⁴ In the confusion of events M. Aemilius Lepidus, who, on the day of the assassination had brought his troops into the centre of Rome to restore order, became *Pontifex Maximus*.³⁵

Meanwhile, Octavius' group, wary of the reception they might find in Rome, had set off from Lupiae and arrived at his stepfather's villa in Puteoli near Neapolis (modern Naples) on 18 April.³⁶ Once settled in, he corresponded with Antonius, Atia and the Senate. By coincidence, the neighbouring villa was owned by Cicero, who was entertaining the consuls designate for 43 BCE, C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus and A. Hirtius. Octavius promised to be guided by the venerable 62-year-old Cicero in all respects. Cicero was quite taken by the respect he was shown by the younger man.³⁷ It was likely now that Octavius learned the full details of his inheritance: net of 75 *drachmai* to be paid to each man in the city of Rome, he was to receive three quarters of Iulius Caesar's property. It was an extraordinarily rich legacy. Caesar had instructed that Octavius be posthumously adopted as his son, and to join the *gens Iulia*.³⁸ The young man would assume the full name of his benefactor and henceforth would be entitled to use the name C. Iulius Caesar.³⁹ The heir to Caesar's fortune well knew that name still carried great potency and prestige among large numbers of Romans – not least the men who had served with him during the Gallic Wars – and, in assuming it and the magical aura it bore, his standing would change forever.⁴⁰ Theogenes' prediction had come true. As for 20-year-old Agrippa, he must have realized that he was now best friends with one of the most prominent and soon-to-be powerful men in the Roman world and that his fate would be intricately bound to Octavius'.

Securing his inheritance would not be easy. With the will in his possession Antonius was also fully aware of the contents and its

implications for himself as well as for Octavius. He had already read it. Before Octavius could be adopted into the *gens Iulia*, however, there was a formal state procedure which involved approving the change by a vote of the citizenry in the *comitia centuriata* witnessed by the praetors.⁴¹ The consuls were responsible for calling the voting centuries to assemble, and it was also within their right to delay the date for the meeting – which is exactly what Antonius did. He was intent on consolidating his own lofty position in the state. Believing that the popular support borne of sympathy for his younger adversary would ebb away given enough time, he would make his rival wait several months before convening the *comitia* and initiating the adoption process, while appearing to do everything he could to expedite it.⁴²

M. Antonius was effectively sole head of state with eight months still left of his term of office. The Roman constitution required two consuls to be in office in peacetime, but its other consul Iulius Caesar was dead. To fill the vacant curule chair, Antonius approached P. Cornelius Dolabella – a profligate opportunist who had switched sides to join Iulius Caesar during the Civil War and who believed he had been promised the high office.⁴³ Antonius had secured the public treasury (*aerarium*), which Caesar had stored in the Temple of Opis and, backed with this cash hoard, won over Dolabella, appointing him as suffect consul. Antonius indulged in other self-serving acts. Iulius Caesar had bequeathed his gardens to the Roman people, but Antonius had the collection of artworks, which adorned them, secreted away to private venues.⁴⁴ He also took over a magnificent house, which had formerly belonged to Pompeius Magnus for his own use and hosted drunken parties for fair-weather friends and low-lives there.⁴⁵ What particularly incensed the Roman people was the way he abused the property: it was universally viewed as a travesty of the old man's memory as a sober, modest and successful military commander, and which stood in contrast to the present consul's tarnished reputation.⁴⁶

Feeling his position to be secure, Antonius departed Rome on 18 April for Campania to arrange for the allocation of land grants the veterans of Caesar's legions had been promised.⁴⁷ It was a grave error of judgment. Octavius and his loyal friends decided the time was right to depart for Rome. Crowds of well wishers followed the young men on their journey to Rome. News of his imminent arrival in the city

raced ahead of him. The historian Velleius Paterculus records the legend of their arrival in late April 44 BCE:

As he approached Rome an enormous crowd of his friends went out to meet him, and at the moment of his entering the city, men saw above his head the orb of the sun with a circle about it, coloured like the rainbow, seeming thereby to place a crown upon the head of one destined soon to greatness.⁴⁸

Retired veterans who had served with Iulius Caesar turned out to greet the inheritor of his name.⁴⁹ On reaching the city, Octavius gave a speech in the *Forum Romanum* in which he promised to distribute the largesse bequeathed them in Iulius Caesar's will. His immediate challenge was to get hold of the cash Caesar had deposited in the Temple of Opis – a sum of 700,000,000 *sestertii* according to Cicero.⁵⁰ He now learned that Antonius had taken charge of it. Octavius immediately went to Campania, probably in the company of Agrippa. The consul saw his rival as a naïve boy and set out to belittle him. Being told that he had a guest, Antonius made him wait in the vestibule for a long while before meeting him.⁵¹ When the two men finally met face-to-face Octavius politely asked for his share of his inheritance. Antonius exploded in a rage. He insulted his visitor by telling him he was too young, and that his shoulders were not broad enough to assume the heavy mantle of Iulius Caesar's inheritance. He should leave the task to him, he said, as the older and stronger man. But Antonius – as so many others would do – had misjudged the young man; he would, instead, have benefited from reflecting on the reasons why the great *dictator* had chosen *him* to be his successor.

Antonius convened a new session of the Senate for 1 June. Cicero was no friend of Antonius.⁵² He felt compelled to go but his friends tried to persuade him to stay away from the city. The patriot set off at the end of May.⁵³ Meantime, Octavius appeared before the new *praetor urbanus*, C. Antonius, and formally accepted the terms of Iulius Caesar's testament (from this point on we will refer to Octavius as Caesar and his deceased adoptive father Iulius Caesar).⁵⁴ His inheritance also came with a household (*familia*) of slaves and freedmen, many of whom Appian notes were wealthy.⁵⁵ Young Caesar still needed to raise the cash for the donatives promised to the people in Iulius Caesar's will. To that end he approached Pedius and Pinarius

– his uncles Lucius and Quintus respectively – and they agreed for their nephew to sell their shares in the late *dictator*’s estate. Caesar paid for games in honour of Venus the Ancestress (*ludi Veneris Genetricis*) from whom Caesar, as a member of *gens Iulia*, claimed descent.⁵⁶ During the spectacle, which ran 20–30 July, Octavius planned to have the gilded chair the *dictator* was authorized to use. Antonius promptly vetoed the move, and immediately found himself at loggerheads with Iulius Caesar’s veterans who saw it as an insult to the man’s name and honour. During the last few days of the games, a comet (*sidus*) was seen in the sky.⁵⁷ It was interpreted by the people as a sign that Iulius Caesar’s spirit had ascended to heaven.⁵⁸ The month was renamed in honour of the great *dictator* – July.⁵⁹ ‘For these reasons,’ writes Dio, ‘the soldiers also, particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar’.⁶⁰

Iulius Caesar had been a polarizing figure in life, and remained so in death. To some he was a folk hero, a brilliant commander who had won wars against foreign foes, a charismatic leader who had distributed the spoils of war to the people, a challenger against the entrenched interests of the patricians. To others he was a ruthless tyrant, a dangerous criminal who had committed treason when he crossed the Rubicon, a crooked politician who had twisted the system in pursuit of absolute power. Reconciling these awkward dichotomies would be difficult for his young heir. His legacy was both a blessing and a curse. How he managed the connection with his deceased adoptive father, from whom he derived authority, would be key to successfully establishing himself as his own man.⁶¹ The appearance of the comet provided just the opportunity he needed. Revealing his growing awareness in the value of propaganda, in another tactically brilliant move Caesar had a statue of his great uncle cast. Above the head he placed a star, which came to be called the *Iulium sidus* – the ‘Julian star’ – and erected it inside the Temple of Venus Genetrix.⁶² With Iulius Caesar safely elevated to the heavens, his heir could deepen his terrestrial roots. He minted coins which showed Iulius Caesar’s divinity, while showing himself as a mere mortal man.⁶³ In another example, the words and symbols contrast the autocratic power of the *dictator* with the limited power of one of the three magistrates dedicated to reestablishing the constitution.⁶⁴ The more subtle message could also be read as Iulius Caesar’s power was framed

in illegality, whereas the new was legally sound. To what extent Agrippa was involved in creating the messaging and imagery is unclear, but it is highly unlikely the coins were minted without the blessing of the triumvirs and their advisors.

Scheming to keep them away from Rome, Antonius also contrived to give commissions to Brutus and Cassius to procure grain for the public dole. Antonius had proposed that Brutus should take up the new posting in Crete, which he had declined, and he continued on his way to Italy. Cicero followed shortly after him and on 31 August arrived back in Rome. Crowds of well-wishers turned out in strength to greet and accompany him into the city.⁶⁵ The elder statesman was the only leading man of the Senate who had survived the last civil war, and for many in these uncertain times he was a figure of continuity; but Cicero could not replace Iulius Caesar. When Antonius convened the Senate the following day, Cicero again declined to attend, fearing there might be an attempt on his life; Antonius sent soldiers to his house threatening to burn it down, and only after he was given assurances did he go to the meeting.⁶⁶ On 1 September Antonius left Rome. The next day Cicero took the floor of the Senate House and, under the watchful gaze of Consul Dolabella, launched into the first of fourteen oratorical tirades against Antonius, speeches which became known as the *Philippics* after the style of the acclaimed statesman Demosthenes of Athens.⁶⁷

The popularity of Caesar's heir continued to rise, much to Antonius' chagrin.⁶⁸ It was finally the old *dictator's* veterans who called for Antonius and the young Caesar to reconcile their differences. Reluctant he may have been, but Antonius was not a complete fool and he acceded to shaking hands with the younger man in the Temple of Iupiter on the Capitoline Hill.⁶⁹ At a meeting of the Senate on 1 September Antonius proposed a motion for a holiday in Iulius Caesar's honour.⁷⁰ His legal heir still had no official standing in the *Res Publica* and he made it known that he wished to be considered as a candidate for one of the popular tribunes.⁷¹ Antonius overruled the request. A public spat broke out between the men, in which the consul claimed he had been the subject of an assassination attempt when someone – allegedly Octavius – bribed one of his guards. To the allegation Caesar responded that he would be willing to stand watch over Antonius' bed in person while he slept to ensure his safety. The

rumour of an attempt on the consul's life at the instigation of Caesar raced through the city.⁷² As usual he consulted his friends, among whom were Atia, Philippus and Agrippa. His parents urged him to flee for his own safety, but the others insisted he was innocent and, taking their counsel, Caesar decided to remain in Rome. The following day Antonius' own advisors recommended he defuse the situation and the matter was dropped. For the moment the two men were reconciled but it was becoming clear that they were not friends or allies, but rivals.⁷³

Antonius and his wife left for Brundisium where the legions from Macedonia had arrived before transferring to Gallia Cisalpina.⁷⁴ He intended to secure the army for himself. On meeting him, the soldiers cheered, fully expecting a large bonus from the former deputy of Iulius Caesar.⁷⁵ Instead Antonius paid them what they considered a paltry 400 *sestertii* each and they objected loudly. His response was hardly designed to inspire loyalty. He ordered the centurions step forward and had them butchered to death in front of the troops.⁷⁶ The shocked soldiers agreed to follow Antonius, but their resentment festered.

The Mutinese War

Rome had become a dangerous place for the young Caesar, who realized he needed a contingency plan. Again he turned to his friends for advice. Nikolaos lists them as 'Marcus Agrippa, Lucius Maecenas, Quintus Juventius, Marcus Modialius and Lucius [?]'.⁷⁷ By this time Agrippa had established himself as a highly regarded and trusted advisor. New to the group was the equestrian C. Cilnius Maecenas (born 29 April 70 BCE), a wealthy man proud of his Etruscan heritage who had connections and, in time, would become known as a generous patron of the arts.⁷⁸ Caesar now had in his circle of close friends (*amici*) the two great talents who would advise him and support him in his rise to power – and help him to retain it. Additionally, he had assumed a large number of civilian supporters since Iulius Caesar's death. Romans judged a high status man by his entourage (*clientela*) – the number and calibre of people who assembled at his house each morning for the *salutatio* to pay their respects, followed him as he attended business in the city and voted according to his wishes in elections. But he also needed to gather

troops who would fight for him, if necessary, and to that end the group headed to Campania.⁷⁹ Joining his brain trust on the journey from Rome was heavy muscle. 'Other officers, centurions, and soldiers followed,' writes Nikolaos, 'as well as a multitude of slaves and a pack train carrying the pay-money and the supplies.'⁸⁰

As they travelled south, the young men stopped to persuade the magistrates and free citizens of *coloniae* and *municipiae* through which they passed with stirring words and donations of 2,000 *sestertii* in cash to woo them to his side.⁸¹ At Capua, Agrippa and Caesar met with retirees (*evocati*) – men who could be recalled to defend the *Res Publica* – of *Legiones* VII and VIII that had settled in the region on land provided by adoptive father.⁸² The result of this charm offensive was that 3,000 men rallied to him and followed Caesar and Agrippa on their march to Rome before Antonius returned.⁸³ The high-spirited return journey to Rome had the effect of drawing yet more recruits to his *signa*.⁸⁴ Once safely back in the city Caesar gave a rousing speech about his great uncle's life and achievements, which won him plaudits from the plebs. He also took this opportunity to express opposition to Antonius' schemes. Meanwhile Antonius himself was approaching and when he reached Rome he found two of the four legions – the *Martia* and IV – from Macedonia in mutiny.⁸⁵ Caesar took the initiative and appealed to them to join him.⁸⁶ Despite Antonius' exhortations they changed sides, adding both men and elephants to his rival's growing army.⁸⁷ Antonius raised a complaint with the Senate at Caesar's antics and sped off to Ariminium, fearing that other parts of his army from Macedonia would be induced to defect.⁸⁸

Almost a year after the *dictator's* bloody murder, the assassins still roamed free. D. Iunius Brutus was beginning his new assignment as governor of Gallia Cisalpina and Antonius saw him as a potential ally.⁸⁹ Yet Decimus, who had three legions (one entirely of new recruits) and a number of gladiators under his command, saw Antonius as a threat and refused to have any dealings with him.⁹⁰ The rebuff delighted Cicero who, since 2 September 44 BCE, had been delivering his series of *Philippics* denouncing Antonius for his political ambition, while praising Caesar.⁹¹ However, many wanted to see justice done for the unlawful murder of Iulius Caesar and Decimus was recalled.⁹² He adamantly refused to surrender his commission.⁹³ Antonius, with four legions including the troops from

Macedonia, soon had Brutus and the two legions under the renegade's command blockaded in Mutina (Modena) – the city which gave its name to the ensuing war (*Bellum Mutinense*).⁹⁴ He ordered his men to dig a circumvallation around the wealthy city and prepared to lay siege.⁹⁵

In the meantime, the conservative bloc of senators led by Cicero, who stood resolutely against the Caesarians, pushed through the House a motion which charged the new consuls for 43 BCE, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, to assemble an army to *relieve* D. Brutus and declared Antonius and Lepidus public enemies for having seized Gallia Cisalpina with an armed force – in effect, staging an attack on the *Res Publica*.⁹⁶ Where, the Senate asked, would it find an army to save its men?

It found an unexpected ally. Caesar had five legions – two which had defected from Antonius, two of *evocati* and one of new levies – at Alba.⁹⁷ The men who had defected put on a display of military manoeuvres and Caesar rewarded them all with a bonus of 500 *drachmai*, and a promise of more if they brought him victory.⁹⁸ Believing him to be on their side, the Senate praised Caesar.⁹⁹ He had consistently expressed the view that his sole interest was to see the assassins of his great uncle face charges for their heinous crime. Perceiving him as a non-threat, and indeed, as a political asset against Antonius, he was granted the right to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal period and was promoted to the rank of *propraetor*, an honour normally granted to men who had served as consul and were at least 35-years-old.¹⁰⁰ Urged on by Cicero, the Senate issued an ultimatum to Antonius that he should suspend the siege, return the province to Decimus, withdraw to behind the Rubicon and present himself to the Conscript Fathers.¹⁰¹ Caesar was now directed to assist the consuls and, keen to humble Antonius and crimp his ambitions, he obliged. He soon reflected that he had, in fact, been duped by the Senate. All they really wanted was his army – since a *propraetor* had no authority in the presence of a serving consul – and to provoke a war between him and Antonius.¹⁰² With Agrippa and Salvidienus at his side, he rode despondently beside consul Hirtius in the direction of the conflict zone in the foothills of the Italian Alps.¹⁰³

Separately Pansa made his way northwards with four legions.¹⁰⁴ Antonius learned that the consul was *en route* and moved quickly to

intercept him before he could reach Mutina. At daybreak on 15 April, on the *Via Aemilia* outside the small town of Forum Gallorum, Antonius' men appeared on either side of the road and ambushed the consul's army.¹⁰⁵ Appian would later, and somewhat melodramatically, describe how the novice troops watched in amazement at the battle-hardened veterans fighting each other in virtual silence, since they knew the practised war cries of one side would not strike terror into the other.¹⁰⁶ Pansa had been taken by complete surprise, and was mortally wounded in the battle.¹⁰⁷ Claiming victory, Antonius suspended what might have been a general rout, but was astonished to run straight into Hirtius' army marching up from the south.¹⁰⁸ His men, exhausted from the encounter with Pansa, were themselves routed by the fresh troops of Hirtius who snatched his two legionary eagle (*aquila*) standards.¹⁰⁹ It was a humiliating end to the day, but Antonius was lucky to escape back with his cavalry – and his life – to camp. What Agrippa was doing throughout is, frustratingly, not revealed in the extant accounts.

Antonius returned to the siege at Mutina.¹¹⁰ The combined army of the consuls arrived and attempted to break through Antonius' lines and relieve the city.¹¹¹ Assisting them were Caesar and his friend Agrippa.¹¹² Iulius Caesar's old officer Hirtius assumed command and, when he asked the adopted son for his legions, as the junior commander of the two he had no choice but to release them. On 27 April the two armies clashed before the walls of Mutina.¹¹³ The army relieving the city probed Antonius' defences but, when he did not engage them, they switched their attack to another point along the circumvallation. Antonius shadowed their movements with his cavalry. Eventually he ordered two legions to burst out of the entrenchments and the real battle ensued. Soon he needed to call up reserves from his camps. His own camp was scaled with Hirtius leading the charge, but he fell in the attack near Antonius' personal tent (*praetorium*).¹¹⁴ Appian reports that Caesar charged in and retrieved the consul's body. Decimus now led a sortie out of the city.¹¹⁵ Under intense attack on two fronts Antonius' army crumpled. Seeing no chance for victory, under the cover of darkness, Antonius abandoned the siege, slipped away with as many men as he could take and retreated over the Alps to Gallia Narbonensis.¹¹⁶ There his ally Aemilius Lepidus was in command. L. Munatius Plancus, proconsul of

Gallia Comata with three legions, and C. Asinius Pollio, proconsul of Hispania Ulterior with two legions, also both rallied to him.¹¹⁷

When the news of Antonius' flight and Brutus' survival reached Rome, Cicero read out the report with impish delight.¹¹⁸ Though Hirtius had been killed during the battle at Mutina and Pansa was fast approaching death. A thanksgiving of fifty days was granted to the two consuls and Caesar in equal measure and payments were issued to the troops.¹¹⁹ Caesar was told to report to Brutus, a situation the young man found intolerable – the man had, after all, been a party to the murder of his adoptive father. Decimus urged Caesar to cross the Apennines and intercept Antonius' relief army under P. Ventidius.¹²⁰ But Caesar now presented his own demand to the Senate: he wanted a triumph.¹²¹ His request was denied. It granted one to Brutus instead.¹²² Caesar had served his usefulness for the Senate. With Antonius apparently out of the way, Cicero believed Caesar could now be sidelined. On 24 May he wrote a letter to D. Brutus with the chilling phrase, 'praise and compliment the youth – then remove him'.¹²³ He, like so many others, underestimated the man he so dismissively disparaged. The political reality had changed and Caesar knew it. Caesar needed a new strategy.¹²⁴ He wrote to Lepidus and Pollio explaining the indignities he had suffered, suggesting that as Caesarians they would share Antonius' fate if they did not unite with him.¹²⁵ Lepidus replied encouraging him to reconcile with Antonius.¹²⁶ Caesar then presented a revised demand before the Senate. He wanted nothing less than the consulship.¹²⁷ When his request was again refused he dispatched a team of centurions to represent his demand, this time more persuasively. The armed soldiers were a menacing presence in the civic chamber. While the Conscript Fathers dithered, one of the officers by the name of Cornelius, threw back his cloak, placed his hand on the pommel of his *gladius* and said, 'this will do it if you don't!'¹²⁸ The Senate relented and agreed to Caesar's demand: aged just 19 he was consul.¹²⁹ When his transverse crested emissaries returned with the good news, his jubilant legionaries urged Caesar to lead them to Rome. He consented. This was an opportunity to assert his mandate, and his troops deserved their reward.¹³⁰ On his arrival in the city, he demanded that the public money be brought to him and that the 2,500 *drachmai* per man that had been previously ordered to be paid to each man in Cicero's

motion be distributed with a promise to give them the remainder when he received it.¹³¹ From now on he would not enter the Senate House without a military escort.¹³² On 22 August 43 BCE Caesar and Pedius were sworn in as consuls.¹³³

There was one other outstanding matter. The long delayed *lex curiata* was finally passed: the man formerly known as C. Octavius Thurinus was formally adopted into *gens Iulia* and permitted to use the name of C. Iulius Caesar.¹³⁴ The metamorphosis of the new Caesar was complete.

First Steps on the Political Ladder

Sixteen months after the murder of Iulius Caesar consul Pedius presented a resolution before the Senate. It officially required the prosecution of the assassins. The *Lex Pedia*, passed on 27 November when tribune P. Titius secured the Popular Assembly's vote, prohibited the murderers from receiving fire and water.¹³⁵ Agrippa was rewarded for his loyalty. He was put in charge of leading the high-profile prosecution against the ring leader, C. Cassius Longinus.¹³⁶ Cassius had long since left Rome along with co-conspirator M. Iunius Brutus.¹³⁷ Agrippa secured verdicts against Cassius: he was condemned *in absentia* and declared an outlaw. The leading assassin now had a price on his head. It is possible, but not substantiated, that after the trial Agrippa may have benefited from the case by acquiring some of Cassius' confiscated assets.¹³⁸

Agrippa's political career begins here. There is tantalizing evidence that he was appointed a tribune during his lifetime.¹³⁹ This is the most likely moment in his long career that he could have assumed this position. The ten tribunes normally assumed the office on 10 December and served for a year (see [Appendix 1](#)). A tribune had the authority to convene assemblies of the plebs and propose acts which were binding (*plebiscita*), as well as the right to convoke the ConscripT Fathers and propose *senatus consulta*. Having his own man in such a position would greatly help the young Caesar. In the office of tribune, Agrippa could veto any act committed by a magistrate, which included the *senatus consulta*, and even block fellow tribunes, all without fear of arrest or injury or the offender being declared an outlaw.

To hunt down and bring to justice the remaining conspirators, who

between them commanded more than twenty legions as well as a fleet of warships and cash, the Caesarians needed to combine forces.¹⁴⁰ Among his first motions as consul Caesar had the decrees declaring Antonius, Lepidus, and the soldiers commanded by them, public enemies, repealed.¹⁴¹ Caesar immediately wrote to Antonius offering assistance if he needed it against D. Brutus. Antonius replied curtly that he would deal with the man himself. In one grisly account Antonius declined to meet Decimus but ordered him killed and, when the instruction was carried out, had his enemy's head brought to him.¹⁴² Appian records that another assassin, Minucius Basilus, was killed by his slaves, some of whom he was in the process of castrating by way of punishment at the time.¹⁴³

Caesar then marched with five legions to Gallia Cisalpina and, on the banks of the Lavinus River near Mutina, met Antonius and Lepidus.¹⁴⁴ At a two day conference, they carved up the Roman world among themselves.¹⁴⁵ Caesar assumed responsibility for Africa, Sardinia and Sicily. Antonius was assigned the Gallic provinces, except Aquitania, and Lepidus received Aquitania, the Hispanic provinces and Italy.¹⁴⁶ Eighteen towns in Italy, mostly those which had supported the conspirators, were earmarked to be divided up as though they were war spoils among their troops as an incentive for services to be rendered.¹⁴⁷ The commission they set up, entitled the *Triumviri Rei Publicae Constituendae Consulari Potestate* – ‘Three Men with Consular Power for Confirming the Commonwealth’, abbreviated as *III VIR RPC* (plate 18) – was later recognized by law with the passing of the *Lex Titia* on 27 November.¹⁴⁸ It was a temporary arrangement, intended to last just five years, but the new Triumvirate gave formal expression to its power backed by military might, as Iulius Caesar's dictatorship had done.¹⁴⁹ To bind the men together, young Caesar married Antonius' daughter Clodia.¹⁵⁰ Agrippa was not chosen as one of the triumvirs, but his close association with young Caesar effectively made him an unofficial junior partner at the council.

It was becoming clear to all that a new civil war would ensue soon. To prosecute it the Commission of Three Men would need money in abundance. Between them they had forty-three legions, but the treasury to pay for them was effectively bare. The triumvirate resorted to confiscating the assets of its political enemies. Following

the examples of Marius and Sulla years before, proscriptions were drawn up.¹⁵¹ Proscribed persons were entered on to a list and their money and property were forfeited, and for those who resisted the prospects were exile or death.¹⁵² The triumvirs haggled over names, where an enemy of the one might be a family member or friend of the other.¹⁵³ When they completed their 'barter of murder', as Plutarch describes it, the names of 300 senators and 2,000 equestrians were on the list.¹⁵⁴ On 24 November the triumvirs marched with a large contingent of troops into Rome and began enforcing the confiscations; but they sent ahead of them a small group who would visit the richest and most important men first. Among the first wave of victims was 64-year-old M. Tullius Cicero, placed on the list by Antonius as revenge for the sustained verbal attacks he had suffered in his *Philippics*.¹⁵⁵ He was tracked down to his villa in Formiae (Formia) preparing to depart for Macedonia. On 7 December he was visited by a detachment of soldiers led by tribune Popilius and centurion Herennius.¹⁵⁶ Cicero bowed to his captors, leaned his head out of the litter, and bared his neck with his own hands to the legionaries. Herennius botched the execution. It took him three saw cuts to finally decapitate Cicero.¹⁵⁷ His hands – as much tools of the orator's trade as his voice – were also hacked off. They were taken to Rome where Antonius ordered the severed head and hands to be placed above the bronze beaks of captured ships that decorated the *Rostra* from where the orator had often spoken.¹⁵⁸

As word of the proscription spread, Rome's affluent and powerful panicked. To calm the situation, consul Pedius, who had received a copy of the list containing just seventeen names, issued an edict in earnest that no more would be added and published the names.¹⁵⁹ Next day he was found dead. Foul play was not suspected, but his edict failed. The list was posted up in the *Forum*.¹⁶⁰ The triumvirs were intent on carrying out their plan and the proscriptions proceeded, resulting in the liquidation of almost a third of the Senate.¹⁶¹ Butchered bodies lay un-buried in the streets and the heads of many were displayed on spikes on the *Rostra*.¹⁶² Innocents who were not on the list also fell victim to the spite of accusers who used the proscription as cover to settle old scores.¹⁶³ Amidst this horrific slaughter one man showed humanity. Agrippa interceded to have a man *removed* from the list of the proscribed. A certain Marcus, being a

deputy of Brutus, was captured at Philippi pretending to be a slave and had been purchased by a man named Barbula. Marcus' true identity was revealed and Agrippa successfully negotiated to scratch his name from the list.¹⁶⁴

As winter gripped Italy, Rome was a grim place to be in. The mood in the city was chaotic, fearful and tragic. When Lepidus celebrated his triumph for his victory in Hispania, crowds turned out and cheered, but their broad smiles and hollers masked deep sadness and despair.¹⁶⁵ The burned out ruins of houses owned by some of the proscribed were dotted around the city. Those still standing had been picked bare of their contents. Buyers for the assets had proved too few, some not wishing to take part in the immoral trade or fearing the properties would bring bad luck to their new owners, others unwilling to be seen in public with precious items.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, the prices the Triumvirs had hoped to achieve at auction were not realized. When the proceeds were tallied up the three commissioners were still short of their financial goal by 20,000,000 *drachmai*. Undaunted, they then turned to the 1,400 richest women of the city to make up the difference.¹⁶⁷ But they met with stout defiance. Only 400 women finally subjected themselves to the required assessments.¹⁶⁸ Now desperate, the triumvirs decreed that any man – Roman or foreigner or freedman – with wealth of more than 100,000 *drachmai* was required to advance them loans at an interest rate of one fiftieth of the value of their property and to contribute one year's income to the cost of the war.¹⁶⁹

On 1 January 42 BCE, with Antonius' allies M. Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus sworn in as consuls, the Senate passed resolutions in honour of Iulius Caesar.¹⁷⁰ The Ides of March was declared a *die nefastus* – a day on which public business could not be conducted – and the building in which the Senate met was renamed the *Curia Iulia*.¹⁷¹ Anyone seeking sanctuary there in future could not be forcibly removed. Eventually it was barricaded off so it could not be entered. It was also declared that his wax effigy could not be displayed by living members of his family during funerals.¹⁷² The official process of transforming him into a divinity had begun.

Lepidus remained in Rome, but his colleagues set off to wage their wars of vengeance.¹⁷³ War would be fought on three fronts.¹⁷⁴ Many of the families able to evade the proscriptions headed to northern

Greece to join Brutus and Cassius or Africa to be with Cornificius, but others moved southern Italy to join Pompeius' son Sextus.¹⁷⁵ Caesar and Salvidienus departed for Sicily to campaign against Sex. Pompeius, who had taken the island by forcing the surrender of its governor Clodius Bithynicus.¹⁷⁶ He had engaged Sextus at Scylae, but he quickly ran into trouble on account of the inexperience of his crews; his fleet was scuppered, and his opponent slipped away.¹⁷⁷ Salvidienus retreated to Balarus to carry out repairs. Antonius despatched eight legions to Macedonia under the command of C. Norbanus Flaccus and Decidius Saxa. Norbanus took up a position in Thrace.

The conspirators had also been making preparations of their own. M. Brutus assembled an army in Eprius and Macedonia with help of money from Trebonius in Asia.¹⁷⁸ Adding to his numbers Brutus had secured the army of Illyricum from its unpopular commander Vatinius at Dyrrhacium.¹⁷⁹ When M. Antonius' brother landed at Apollonia with his expeditionary force, Brutus met him, won over his soldiers, adding them to his force, and took Caius prisoner.¹⁸⁰ Separately Cassius secured twelve legions from Bithynia, Iudaea and Syria and a prized unit of mounted Parthian archers.¹⁸¹ The two commanders met at Smyrna (modern İzmir) and agreed to combine their army of nineteen legions, with Orodes of Parthia offering help, and prepared to leave for Macedonia.¹⁸² They too had extorted large sums from communities in Asia Minor, such as Tarsus and Laodikeia, who had been forced to pay ten years' of taxes at one time, and if they could not find the cash, were compelled to melt statues and turn them into coin.¹⁸³

As the opposing forces jockeyed for position, Rome's eastern allies and client kingdoms found themselves forced to pick sides. Queen Kleopatra VII of Egypt ([plate 19](#)), a close ally of the former Roman *dictator*, sent a fleet to Antonius and Caesar in Greece. It was forced to return home when blocked by Cassius.¹⁸⁴ Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia who refused to pay, was summarily executed by Cassius' nephew for plotting against the *Res Publica*.¹⁸⁵ His treasury and supplies were confiscated. Cassius laid siege to Rhodes and, having defeated their fleet of thirty-three ships at Myndos and then taken the city, imposed a fine of 1,500 talents, saw fifty of its leading citizens executed, and confiscated all the portable silver and gold.¹⁸⁶ Brutus meanwhile

defeated the army of Lykia in a surprise attack, and in Xanthus the citizens committed mass suicide rather than surrender. Other cities reluctantly threw in their lots with the self-styled 'liberators'.¹⁸⁷

By September Brutus had eight legions and Cassius nine. Many, however, were not at full strength.¹⁸⁸ The combined force, representing some 80,000 men, advanced through Thrace. Additionally, Brutus brought cavalry, comprising 4,000 from Gaul and Lusitania, 3,000 from Thrace and Illyricum and 2,000 from Parthia and Thessaly; Cassius contributed 2,000 Spanish and Gallic regular cavalry and 4,000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. A large additional force of infantrymen and about 5,000 horse were provided by the allied kings and tetrarchs of Galatia in Asia. *En route* they outflanked Norbanus' army of eight legions with the help of 3,000 cavalry under Reskupolis (Rhescupolis), prince of Thrace; they would have trapped them at Thasos had Antonius not arrived in time.¹⁸⁹ Brutus and Cassius picked a site at Philippi on the high ground to establish their separate camps near marshes, connecting by them a rampart, and anchored their fleet at Neapolis.¹⁹⁰

Norbanus had established and fortified his position at Amphipolis, much to Antonius' delight.¹⁹¹ Antonius dug a second camp audaciously in view of Cassius on the plain, having found no other elevated site, only then to discover that the plain was prone to flooding by the nearby Thasos River. He built entrenchments, raising numerous towers and on all sides with ditch, wall and palisade. Antonius ordered his men to dig a dyke through the marsh in order to isolate Cassius' camp from the *Via Egnatia* by which the supplies reached him. Cassius' men responded by building a wall to block their path.

After reaching Dyrrhachium, Caesar was taken ill, finally reaching Amphipolis in late September.¹⁹² He erected his camp opposite Brutus'. Caesar recovered sufficiently to join Antonius, only to have to be carried about in a litter when his malady returned.¹⁹³ A comment by Pliny the Elder infers Agrippa was there attending to

[Caesar's] illness at the battle of Philippi; his flight, and his having to remain three days concealed in a marsh, though suffering from sickness, and, according to the account of Agrippa and Maecenas, labouring under a dropsy.¹⁹⁴

The triumvirs' combined force of nineteen legions matched their opponents', though Antonius and Caesar had more cavalry.¹⁹⁵ With them Antonius tried to provoke battle, but Brutus and Cassius refused to engage; having the greater supplies they hoped to prolong the standoff and starve their opponent into submission.¹⁹⁶ With limited supplies and no means to replenish them, Antonius knew he could not wait.¹⁹⁷ He formulated a plan of action. Each day he arrayed his troops on the plain in battle formation, while part of his force hidden from view by reeds erected a causeway.¹⁹⁸ After ten days the work was complete. His subterfuge had been discovered, however. Cassius had noticed the constructions and had his men build a transverse wall of their own across the marsh from his camp to the sea, intercepting Antonius' causeway so that those inside could not escape to him, nor could he render them assistance. Incensed by Cassius' tactical counter measures, on 3 October Antonius' troops burst out, scaled the wall with ladders and tools and broke into Cassius' camp, which was defended by only a few men, and began tearing down the rampart and filling in the ditches.¹⁹⁹ Watching in disbelief from afar, acting without orders, Brutus' men responded and charged at the triumvirs' flank; for a while they had the upper hand and wrought havoc in Caesar's camp, the commander himself having left only a while before.²⁰⁰ Cassius had taken the bulk of his soldiers south to work on the causeway, and they were now exposed in the open. In the dust which swirled over the battlefield neither side could not see their allies' progress and they began to think the worst.²⁰¹ Both sides hacked at each other, struggling to maintain a firm foothold on the islands of dry ground to prevent themselves falling into the marsh.²⁰² Cassius' side faltered under pressure from the enemy's right wing, and his cavalry fled in the direction of the sea; he did not relay a call for assistance from Brutus thinking him already dead.²⁰³ Instead he scrambled to higher ground to get a better view. From there he spotted a unit of cavalry riding towards him. They were Brutus' coming to his aid; but Cassius believed them to be the enemy.²⁰⁴ In despair and resignation, believing all was lost, Cassius committed suicide.²⁰⁵ Brutus learned of his friend's end, but nevertheless rallied the troops and promised them rewards, for in his mind the war was not lost.²⁰⁶ By the end of the battle, Cassius and Brutus suffered 8,000 men dead, but Caesar had sustained twice as many casualties.²⁰⁷ The

bloodied and bruised sides parted in what was taken to be a draw and retired to their camps.

Antonius' hoped for relief supplies failed to arrive when their ships came under attack in the Straits of Otranto from a fleet commanded by Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus and were forced to retreat.²⁰⁸ Rather than face starvation, Antonius and Caesar had to force Brutus to engage them in a last decisive action, in the knowledge that, with supplies aplenty and the better position, Brutus could bide his time.²⁰⁹ Brutus was blithely ignorant of his opponents' plight until twenty days after the first battle. Foolishly he gave in to his officers' demands for a fight. On the other side of the field, the two triumvirs roused their men.²¹⁰

On 23 October, at approximately 3.00pm, the battle commenced.²¹¹ Caesar lead his men to press against Brutus', pushing them back until their line broke, and seized their enemy's camp. Antonius' men advanced also, driving down on the fugitives, dispatching cavalry along the *Via Egnatia* to block the path of any escapees.²¹² There were defections. As his friend Lucilius attempted to draw Antonius off, Brutus managed to break out with what remained of four legions and scrambled into the surrounding hills.²¹³ But the battle was lost, and the war with it. Rather than be taken prisoner, next morning, assisted by his friend Strato Messala, Brutus took his own life.²¹⁴ In a mark of respect, Antonius and Caesar gave their opponent an honourable funeral, and they were kind to Strato.²¹⁵

Among the survivors who surrendered was Q. Horatius Flaccus (the poet Horace) who had served as a military tribune at the insistence of M. Brutus.²¹⁶ Learning of Brutus' demise, the other conspirators took their own lives.²¹⁷ The triumvirs declared an amnesty and the surviving soldiers transferred their allegiance to them.²¹⁸ Some 14,000 of the defeated soldiers switched to Antonius and Caesar. There was bad news among the good. By a remarkable coincidence, on 23 October Caesar's reinforcements – including the *Legio Martia*, a Praetorian Cohort of 2,000 men, 4 *alae* of cavalry and other specialist troops – aboard transports with an escort of triremes were intercepted, rammed and set alight in the Adriatic Sea by Domitius Ahenobarbus and Murcus with 130 warships.²¹⁹ Rather than face capture or being burned alive, the men of the *Martia* committed suicide; others drowned, while the survivors on the remaining

seventeen ships surrendered to Murcus.²²⁰

The two triumvirs offered a great sacrifice for their victory and quickly manoeuvred to marginalize their absent third partner.²²¹ Lepidus, suspected of having surreptitious links with Sex. Pompeius, was stripped of his army and provinces – he would only regain them if the accusations were proved to be false. Antonius and Caesar renegotiated the split of territories. Antonius acquired all the Gallic provinces, while Caesar assumed responsibility for the Hispanic provinces, Numidia, Sardinia and Sicily.²²² Gallia Cisalpina joined Italy as a neutral or ‘common’ territory under the nominal control of Caesar. Antonius headed for Asia, while Caesar returned to the homeland, accompanied by Agrippa.²²³

With the civil war over, the military overhead had become a heavy financial and managerial burden. The triumvirs agreed to reduce the forty-three legions to thirty-two: seventeen were assigned to Antonius and fifteen to Caesar.²²⁴ The demobbed troops, however, who had loyally served the Caesarians expected to receive their rewards for services rendered. It fell to Caesar’s to resettle the men of the eleven legions plus the qualifying veterans of the remaining units. Fully recovered from the setback at Scylae, Salvidienus was dispatched with six legions to the Iberian Peninsula to retake the Hispanic provinces from Sex. Pompeius.²²⁵ Before he left the region, Caesar established a new city for retired veterans of the legions and men of his Praetorian Cohorts close to the battle site and named it *Colonia Iulia Victrix Philippi*.²²⁶

Riding at the head of three legions, Caesar returned to Rome (*adventus*) in January 41 BCE.²²⁷ The crossing from Greece had left him debilitated, causing many to think he was dying.²²⁸ The Senate decreed that celebrations of thanksgiving should be held to mark the return of civil peace, and Caesar was asked to lead them.²²⁹ He erected statues at the Temple of Concord and led the state in sacrifices and prayers. The thorny issue of finding land on which to resettle the thousands of retiring legionaries still remained to be solved. It would be a reckoning for those who had supported the wrong side. The towns in Italy known for their hostility to the triumvirs were now called to account for their choice and all their territories, slaves and farm equipment were confiscated.²³⁰ The displaced landowners, now a new class of poor, had little choice but to turn to friends and family

for help, or to migrate to Rome hoping to be accepted on the list for the free distribution of grain.²³¹ Caesar was not unsympathetic to their plight, but having no money to purchase the land, and faced with angry troops – who even challenged him on a visit to the theatre where he barely managed to escape with his life – his options were limited.²³²

The Perusine War

In Antonius' absence from Rome, his interests were being represented by his brother Lucius (who had been elected consul for that year) and his wife Fulvia.²³³ Married to Antonius in 47 or 46, they had two sons together, M. Antonius Antyllus and Iullus Antonius, and were a formidable political force. They schemed to remove Caesar from the scene in the hope of seeing their blood relative rule Rome uncontested.²³⁴ Accusing Fulvia of meddling in politics and seeking power for herself, Caesar divorced Clodia, telling her mother – who he could not abide for her bad temper – that he returned her a virgin.²³⁵ Fulvia meanwhile toured Italy to stir up trouble for Caesar by reminding the veterans of the role her brother Marcus had played in securing their futures, pointedly reminding them that Caesar had been ill most of the time, and tried to have the land allocations delayed until he returned from the East to ensure his men received what was due them, whereafter both men should share the credit.²³⁶ Fulvia's patience exhausted, she publicly stated her allegiance to her brother and effectively stood in opposition to Caesar.²³⁷ She was intent on war and, with remarkable alacrity, Fulvia raised new legions in Italy and for a while some even occupied Rome itself. L. Antonius rallied his troops at Praeneste (Palestrina), which he made his base of operations.²³⁸ Lucius requested reinforcements from the legions loyal to his brother in Gaul under the command of Q. Fufius Calenus, P. Ventidius Bassus and C. Assinius Pollio. Still in the East, M. Antonius was entirely unaware of the brewing conflict.

Caesar had four legions in Italy, but he urgently recalled Salvidienus and the six legions he had with him in the Hispanic Provinces and, obeying orders, crossed the Alps unhindered.²³⁹ Meanwhile, food supplies in the capital were dwindling owing to Sex. Pompeius' successful blockade of Sicily, and what grain there was was being consumed by the soldiery.²⁴⁰ Caesar struck back and despatched

cavalry to Bruttium where Sextus was known to be raiding.²⁴¹ Lucius accused Caesar of provoking a war between Antonius and his children, and Caesar retorted back that it was Lucius who was intent on war and on breaking up the triumvirate, not he. Finally the troops who had served under Iulius Caesar and Antonius sent representatives to intercede and broker a settlement between the parties, but negotiations broke down because they distrusted each other.²⁴² War was now inevitable. Caesar had his four legions at Capua supplemented with six brought by Salvidienus, plus several Praetorian Cohorts; Lucius had the six accorded him as consul.²⁴³ The soil of Italy would soon be turned red with the blood of her own sons. Meanwhile the coasts were already under attack. Ahenobarbus was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions, units of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, and using them to devastate the regions subject to the triumvirs. He attacked Brundisium, blockaded the inhabitants behind their walls, ravaged the surrounding territory, captured some of Caesar's triremes and burned others.²⁴⁴ Caesar deployed one of Salvidienus' legions to relieve Brundisium.²⁴⁵ Both sides ran recruitment drives throughout Italy. The communities under threat from colonization saw Lucius as a champion of their cause and rallied to him, the settled veterans turned to Caesar.

Leaving Lepidus in Rome with two legions, Caesar departed to lead his campaign in person, likely with Agrippa at his side.²⁴⁶ The war began when a mutiny broke out among two of Lucius' legions at Alba Longa. Caesar arrived at the city and laid siege to it.²⁴⁷ Learning that C. Furnius was bringing reinforcements for Lucius' army, Caesar attacked his rear. Furnius retreated to Sentinum (a place near modern Sassoferrato in Umbria) on the *Via Flaminia*.²⁴⁸ It turned out to be a futile exercise. News arrived of a setback in Rome. Three cohorts had since taken the city under cover of darkness.²⁴⁹ Lepidus had proved unable to mount any form of resistance and had fled to Caesar.²⁵⁰ From his base at Praeneste, L. Antonius had entered with his main army, cavalry and gladiators. Lucius had even been welcomed by the inhabitants. He spoke to the citizens dressed in his military regalia and proclaimed Caesar and Lepidus were enemies. He proclaimed his brother Marcus would voluntarily resign, end the triumvirate and restore the old *Res Publica*. Believing Rome to be on his side Lucius sped north to join Ventidius and Pollio; he had moved on Salvidienus

who had taken up the siege at Sentium in Caesar's absence.²⁵¹ He breached the gates, plundered the city and torched it. Neighbouring Nucia surrendered without a fight.²⁵²

Perhaps recognizing his own increasingly evident failings as a military man, Caesar now turned to his friend Agrippa, whose role is better documented from this point on. He gave Agrippa charge of his legions and tasked him with taking Sutrium (Sutri).²⁵³ Likely promoted to the position of *legatus*, Agrippa marched the 66km (41 miles) northwards from Rome to the town in Etruria ([map 2](#)). Its location on the *Via Cassia* was strategically important to Lucius as it was one of two main roads on the western side of Italy by which he could reach Pollio and Ventidius in Gallia Narbonensis.²⁵⁴ Agrippa believed that once Sentium had fallen Lucius would turn his attention to Sutrium.²⁵⁵ He entered and quickly secured the city, whose ancient stone walls clung to a narrow hill of volcanic tufa, and were surrounded by ravines. A slender neck on the western side alone connected it with the surrounding country. The plan was a simple one: Agrippa would draw Lucius' forces to him while Salvidienus would arrive by way of the *Via Flaminia* to entrap him. 'It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated,' writes Appian.²⁵⁶ When Lucius received information that Agrippa was at Sutrium he took the bait, turned around and headed back with celerity to the hilltop town. However, he found his way north was blocked by the arrival of Salvidienus' troops. Appian says that Salvidienus was himself being trailed by Pollio and Ventidius and Lucius was trying to move north to join up with them.²⁵⁷ He could not go forward and Agrippa's men could strike at his rear. It was clear Lucius could not get through and he needed a way out. 'Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides,' writes Appian, 'watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles'.²⁵⁸ However, the same ravines around the town provided him with an escape route and, once free of Sutrium, he headed with his army to Perugia (Perugia) some 150km (93 miles) to the north.²⁵⁹ Agrippa must have been bitterly disappointed to have failed to capture or kill Lucius on his first major command; but he would soon have a second chance.

Autumn was turning to winter, says Appian, when L. Antonius was forced to hunker down in Perugia.²⁶⁰ This city was to give its name to the entire war – *Bellum Perusinum*, the Perusine War.²⁶² Agrippa and

Salvidienus followed him there and they were soon joined by Caesar.²⁶¹ Like Sutrium, Perugia was a hilltop town with formidable stone walls of massive travertine blocks erected between the sixth and third centuries BCE by Rome's old enemies, the Etruscans.²⁶³ Its single arched gateways and thick wooden doors were locked firmly shut to keep out the invaders. The only way to take the place was to lay siege to it and starve the occupants into submission. All they needed was time, but Caesar and his generals were impatient for a resolution. Rather than watching their troops stand around in the cold and damp they ordered them to take out their entrenching tools and saws and set to work. A circumvallation of circuit wall with parapet and ditch measuring 56 *stades* (10,080m or 33,600ft) in circumference was constructed with extensions reaching into the Tiber River to prevent the defenders from escaping, and relief troops and supplies from getting in.²⁶⁴ With time on his side, Caesar would wait for Lucius, now trapped inside, to surrender. When not digging, sawing or hammering, the troops on both sides melted lead into sling shot (*glandes*). Crudely made 'bullets' have been discovered around Perugia bearing the names of Caesar and Salvidienus.²⁶⁵ The absence of bullets with Agrippa's name implies he was the junior partner to Salvidienus. However, the Perusine War would provide an opportunity for Agrippa to show his mettle. Word was received that Pollio and Ventidius planned, or were already on their way, to relieve Lucius. Leaving Salvidienus in charge of the siege, Caesar and Agrippa roused their men and sped off across the Apennines to intercept Lucius' allies before they could reach Perugia. It is in the Perusine War that Agrippa emerges for the first time as a competent commander of forces on land.

Plancus discovered and routed one of Caesar's legions as it was marching to Rome. Pollio and Ventidius had mobilized their armies in late 41 BCE at the insistence of Fulvia, and were to be joined by Plancus.²⁶⁶ Caesar's scouts spotted them as they approached. Perugia and he and Agrippa moved to block their progress. The appearance of Caesar's deputies surprised the commanders from Gaul who avoided a head-on clash by veering off to neighbouring cities – Plancus to Spoletium (Spoleto), Pollio to Ravenna, Ventidius to Ariminium. Caesar placed detachments in front of each city to prevent them escaping and returned to Perugia. Once there, he ordered the ditch

deepened and widened to 30ft in either dimension, raised the height of the parapet and erected 1,500 watchtowers along it, spaced 60ft apart. Tactically sited redoubts and emplacements provided protection for his men from which to launch attacks with artillery.²⁶⁷ As they expanded the fortifications many died in fierce hand-to-hand fighting with Lucius' gladiators who made sorties from the besieged city. When completed Caesar could wait and let the gnawing feeling of hunger take effect.²⁶⁸

On 31 January Lucius tried to break out of the city with a unit of troops. Caesar was waiting for him. His soldiers, who included men of the Praetorian Cohorts, forcibly drove Lucius back.²⁶⁹ His allies now decided to assemble at Perugia to overwhelm Caesar's siege. His deputies learned of their approach and stationed greater numbers of troops on the road to keep the enemy away.²⁷⁰ They successfully diverted them to Fulginiae or Fulginium (Foligno), a town 37km (22 miles) down the *Via Flaminia* and northwest of Perugia.

There Agrippa besieged them, and they [Pollio and Ventidius] lighted fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius [Pollio] were of the opinion that they should go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavius and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perugia rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his arrival they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed.²⁷¹

Holing them up in Fulginiae served another purpose: Lucius was denied their assistance in Perugia, against which Caesar continued to apply pressure. The situation inside the city was dreadful:

There he [Lucius] took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade distributing any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, in case the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, fearing that if he burned them, the enemy

would discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease would result from the poisonous exhalations.²⁷²

Lucius' men pleaded with him to lead them in an organised break out. Ordering his men to equip themselves with iron tools, ladders and wicker baskets, he attempted several times to attack Caesar's defences, by filling in ditches and tearing at the parapets, but the circumvallation held.²⁷³ Coming at different sections of the circuit wall, the attacks stretched Caesar's resources, but they held under pressure. Despite gallant and determined fighting, Lucius eventually sounded the retreat.²⁷⁴ Seeing the men withdraw, Caesar's men beat their *gladii* against their shields, leading many of Lucius' men to swing around and make a renewed attempt to scale the parapet, which failed again.

During the last days of February Lucius finally realized the hopelessness of his situation. He was trapped, running out of supplies and relief was not coming. He sent a message to Caesar asking for terms: a general pardon for his men who had originally come from Caesar's side.²⁷⁵ The reply came that he would only allow the veterans a pardon – but not the young recruits. Lucius surrendered. Caesar's troops cheered their leader and acclaimed him *imperator*.²⁷⁶ As the defeated men emerged out of the city, Caesar's own troops cheered as they welcomed back old comrades. Caesar was touched by the scene and extended his pardon to all of the men.²⁷⁷ He was in not such a generous mood to the city fathers: they had caused rebellion and for the crime they were executed.²⁷⁸ The inhabitants were required to abandon their town and watch as Caesar's soldiers entered and pillaged it. Meanwhile, a fire broke out and the entire town was consumed in flames.²⁷⁹

Defeated L. Antonius' deputies fled – to Brundisium, Ravenna, Tarentum to meet up with Ahenobarbus and Murcus – pursued by Caesar and his generals. Between them, Lucius' allies had thirteen legions and almost 6,500 cavalry.²⁸⁰ Agrippa went after Plancus. He intercepted him and his two legions 52km (32 miles) northwest of Fulginiae at Cameria (Camerino). Rather than resort to the sword, instead he tried diplomacy to persuade them to desert their commander and join Caesar's side. He was successful, adding almost

12,000 men to the Caesarian cause without bloodshed. Indeed, Agrippa was the only one of Caesar's generals able to convince an enemy to defect without having to fight to achieve it. Plancus himself slipped away to the coast. With their rebellion broken, Fulvia fled with her children to Brundisium, with 3,000 cavalry and Plancus aboard five ships bound for Macedonia. Pollio, however, was still at large and could yet pose a threat to the Caesarians. Meanwhile, Caesar rode to Gallia Transalpina. Defecting to him, Fufius Calenus, son of the governor of Gallia Narbonensis, robbed Antonius of eleven legions who were now sworn to support Caesar.²⁸¹ To ensure their loyalty he replaced all senior officers of these units with his own men under the command of Salvidienus who was based on the Rhône, presumably at *Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum*.²⁸² Caesar returned to Rome with Agrippa.

For his service and initiative Agrippa was rewarded with the post of *praetor urbanus* which he assumed around March of 40 BCE.²⁸³ This was an ancient magistracy stretching back to the age of the kings of Rome and was ranked first of the sixteen praetors under the Republic. The office was responsible for the administration of justice in the city.²⁸⁴ At the age of 24 he was well below the legal age required to take the position but it is an indication of Caesar's growing power that he could install his man with complete disregard for the rules, and of his confidence in Agrippa to do the job.²⁸⁵ Early in July Agrippa supervised the staging of the *Ludi Apollinares*, which were the responsibility of the *praetor urbanus*.²⁸⁶ These games had been established as a regular fixture in the Roman calendar since 211 or 210 BCE and were based in religious observance.²⁸⁷ They honoured Apollo, in accordance with the Oracles of Marcius, which had predicted the military disaster at Cannae. Rather than gladiatorial blood games, as sponsor, Agrippa was required to put on a ceremonial parade (*pompa*), horse races, as well as stage performances, including *praetextae* – a type of tragic drama which took Roman historical figures as the subject matter; they were also referred to as *Ludi Circenses* because they were held in the *Circus Maximus*, during public holidays held between 6 and 13 July.²⁸⁸ Dio records that Agrippa 'prided himself upon his production of the game called "Troy", which was performed by the boys of the nobility'.²⁸⁹ Through the games, Agrippa discovered he had an interest for producing large-scale public

spectacles. To pay for the games Agrippa would have received some money from the state treasury, but probably had to supplement the budget with his own funds, no doubt enhanced by additional contributions from his rich friend. Dio also makes the curious remark that Agrippa was ‘giving himself airs in various other ways on the strength of his being an intimate friend of Caesar’.²⁹⁰ Was the sudden surge of fame and power going to Agrippa’s head? If true, perhaps the reason for it was that before Caesar left for Gaul, he had delegated the entire defence of Italy to Agrippa.²⁹¹ It must have been intoxicating to the young man more used to relative anonymity. Dio then suggests that, taking advantage of the fact that Agrippa’s focus was on the *Ludi Circenses*, Sextus crossed into southern Italy, causing havoc wherever he went.²⁹² Learning of the raids, Agrippa instinctively knew what to do. He quickly mobilized his troops and set off to deal with the problem.²⁹³ Agrippa soon chased Pompeius away, but as a precaution he ‘left a garrison at certain points and sailed back again’.²⁹⁴ He then returned to his praetorian duties in Rome.

Treaty of Brundisium

The tension between the triumvirs continued. Caesar considered himself above both Antonius and Lepidus. He now had more than forty legions, but no ships.²⁹⁵ Antonius’ success at Philippi, however, had raised his popularity among the retired and serving troops. He had a sizeable army of his own plus 200 ships.²⁹⁶ To rebalance the odds, Caesar needed an ally. Taking advantage of Lepidus’ frustration at having been deprived of his province, he returned Africa to him along with six legions he suspected of loyalty to Antonius, an act calculated to secure his allegiance over the other triumvir’s.²⁹⁷ Indulging his passions in the East M. Antonius belatedly learned that Caesar had seized his Gallic provinces and all the legions stationed there. Incensed by the report he sent messages to Sex. Pompeius to side with him and declared himself an enemy of Caesar.²⁹⁸ In August 40 BCE Antonius and Ahenobarbus, operating from Greece, and Pompeius in Sicily, united in an invasion of Italy.²⁹⁹ Along the Adriatic Coast, Antonius captured the *colonia* of Sipontum (Siponto in Puglia), and marched on the strategic port of Brundisium. He constructed a circumvallation around the city, installed his artillery and settled down for a long siege.³⁰⁰ In the south of Italy, Pompeius

sent his deputy Menodorus to take Sardinia, while he attempted to capture Consentia and Thurii; he failed to take the latter and had to settle in for a long siege of the former.³⁰¹ Back from Gaul and now facing war on two fronts, Caesar assessed the rapidly deteriorating situation.³⁰² For the moment the threat posed by Sextus could wait. To deal with Antonius, he ordered Agrippa to Sipontum, and P. Servilius Rullus to Brundisium with five cohorts of Caesar's soldiers.³⁰³ Agrippa called out the veterans who were settled in the *coloniae* and they initially followed him, under the impression they were heading to fight Pompeius; but learning that what had happened had been done at Antonius' own request, and being in no mood to fight him, they turned around and went back secretly. Caesar was on his way to Brundisium and finding the veterans heading towards him, he stopped them and tried to persuade them to follow him.³⁰⁴ When he reached the port he found he could do nothing despite having the larger number of troops. Then, unexpectedly, Caesar then fell sick at Canusium (modern Canosa di Puglia). Meanwhile news reached him that Agrippa had taken the city of Sipontum by storm and secured it, and Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, though he was still attempting to take Consentia.³⁰⁵ Rullus was not so lucky. Coming to assist Caesar at Brundisium with 1,500 cavalry, Antonius, incensed at his setbacks, attacked Rullus by complete surprise and captured them all.

The localized conflict was now spiralling out of control as both sides appealed to colonies of veterans and municipalities for men and matériel. The opportunity for a truce came when news arrived of Fulvia's unexpected death while at Sikyon near Corinth.³⁰⁶ Antonius reflected that he might have his differences with Caesar, but it was not worth plunging the Roman world into a war over them. Conveniently Antonius' sister's death – in part brought on by jealousy at her husband's rumoured cavortings with Queen Kleopatra of Egypt – provided a credible scapegoat for both triumvirs to blame the war on.³⁰⁷ In a public display of reconciliation, Caesar offered his own sister, Octavia Minor, as bride for the widowed triumvir.³⁰⁸ Antonius accepted. In September the triumvirs renegotiated their agreement – a document which became known as the Treaty of Brundisium. Intermediating between the rival triumvirs, Agrippa may have worked alongside Maecenas, Cocceius Nerva and Asinius Pollio.³⁰⁹ In this

revised division of the world, Caesar received the Hispanic and Gallic provinces, Ilyricum and Sardinia; Antonius all the provinces belonging to the Romans across the Ionian Sea in Europe and Asia; Lepidus retained Africa; and Sextus held Sicily.³¹⁰ Antonius ordered Sextus to pull back his forces to Sicily, while Ahenobarbus was offered the proconsular governorship of far away Bithynia.³¹¹ Against Sextus they all agreed to wage common war, thought it would fall to Caesar to prosecute it.³¹² Antonius would take the fight to Parthia in retaliation for the invasion of Asia Minor in 40.³¹³ Caesar accepted a general amnesty for all forces which had gone over to the Antonius brothers, including defectors to Ahenobarbus and the remaining assassins of his father.³¹⁴ The treaty also included a clause which allowed for Agrippa, as a friend of one of the triumvirs, to be consul.³¹⁵

Agrippa returned to Rome and continued his work as *praetor*. He had proved to be a capable civil official of Rome and a dutiful deputy of Caesar. The same could not be said of Salvidienus. Following the conclusion of the treaty negotiations, he was accused of making criminal plans against Caesar.³¹⁶ In Appian's account Antonius revealed that Salvidienus had communicated his intention to desert him while besieging Brundisium.³¹⁷ Caesar recalled his deputy to Rome pretending the matter concerned a redeployment. When he arrived, Caesar confronted him with the evidence and sentenced him to death. In Dio's account, he was suspected of having been involved in a plot to assassinate him.³¹⁸ In all the accounts he was condemned and committed suicide. No longer trusting the loyalty of Salvidienus' legions, he gave them to Antonius.³¹⁹ The outcome was a clear message to friends and clients of the heir to Iulius Caesar's legacy that he would not tolerate disloyalty. For M. Agrippa, now Caesar's leading general, there was no doubt about where his loyalty lay. In the days following the fateful 15 March 44 BCE he had tied his fortune firmly to his old school mate's. From now on, his special relationship with the new Caesar would deepen and with it his personal influence over the Roman world.

Chapter 3

Fighter on Land and Sea

39–33 BCE

Campaigns in Aquitania and Germania

A man wishing to advance up the *cursus honorum* was required to actively participate in state religion. In 39 BCE Agrippa was appointed to his first official priesthood (*collegium sacerdotum*). He joined the *Quindecemviri sacris faciendis*, a committee of ten – originally fifteen – men responsible for performing sacrifices and consulting the Sybilline Books (*libri Sybillini*).¹ These ancient books were the surviving volumes of an original set of nine bought by legendary King Tarquinius Priscus or Tarquinius Superbus whose greed caused the Sybil, a prophetess offering to sell them to him, to destroy three of the documents and charge him the same price as the complete collection.² They were kept in the Temple of Iupiter Capitolinus but destroyed in a fire in 82 BCE. Replacements were produced from examples copied from others held by communities throughout Italy. The books were consulted in times of national crisis by the *Quindecemviri* at the request of the Senate, but never made accessible to the general public.³ Agrippa's selection to the board was regarded as a great privilege.⁴

Sex. Pompeius continued his blockade of the Italian ports, restricting the vital supply of grain to the city's hungry plebs. Angry citizens pelted Caesar with stones when he arrived in the *Forum* to conduct his business and, embarrassingly for him, he had to be rescued by Antonius' troops. Sextus' strategy was perfectly calculated to cause most pain to his adversaries, leaving them with little option but to negotiate with him. He had grown rich on the misery he had inflicted on Italy.⁵ To save face, the triumvirs sought an intermediary to broker a deal. Antonius took the lead by inviting L. Scribonius Libo from Sicily to informal talks. Libo was Sextus' son-in-law after marrying his daughter, Scribonia, and the discussions were further

encouraged by Sextus' own mother Mucia. Agreement for formal talks was reached and Caesar and Antonius met their nemesis at Misenum on a jetty.⁶ The result of the frank discussions was the Treaty of Misenum.⁷ For his signature on it, Sextus drove a hard bargain. For the resumption of grain shipments and withdrawal from positions in Italy, he demanded and received the governorships of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily with a promise of Achaea in Greece to follow; additionally the consulship *in absentia* of 37 BCE, and a priesthood.⁸ Furthermore, anyone forced into exile because of their association with Sextus – all except the surviving murderers of Iulius Caesar – could freely return to their homes, though any proscribed persons would only receive back a quarter of their property assets. To ensure the stability of the medium-term future, the consulships were pre-agreed for the next three years: Antonius would be elected for 38 BCE, Caesar and Sextus for 37 and Ahenobarbus for 36. To celebrate the accord Sextus invited the triumvirs for dinner on board his ship, a fine vessel with six banks of oars (*sexteres*) anchored in the Bay, which he informed his guests, with tongue firmly in cheek, was the only ancestral house left to him.⁹ His chief officer Menodorus was alleged to have suggested he use the opportunity to sail the ship out to sea and butcher the guests, but Sextus rejected the notion.

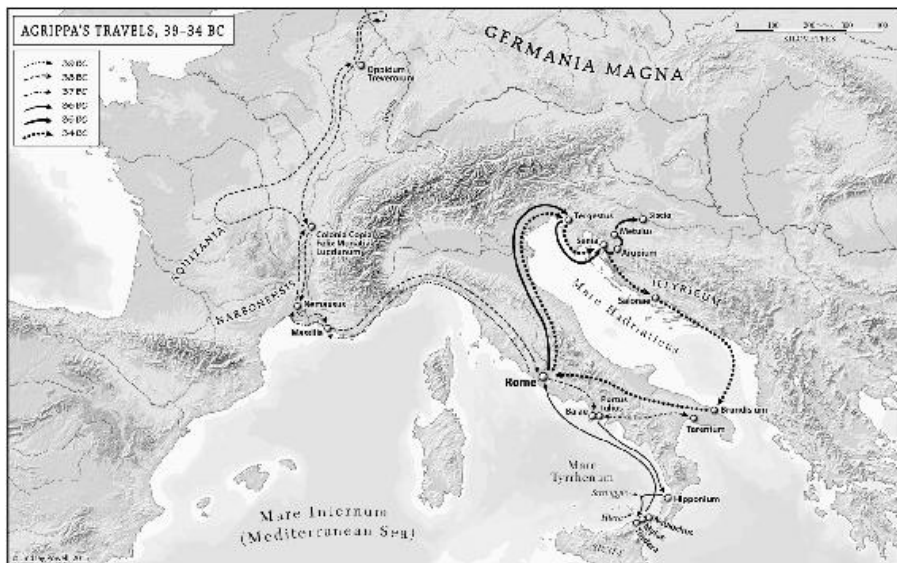
Having secured the promise of a new era of peace, Caesar and Antonius dis-embarked and headed back to Rome. Sextus weighed anchor and set sail for Sicily. Shortly after Antonius departed for Athens to prepare for war against the Parthians. Less trusting of Sextus than his colleague, Caesar seems not to have believed in the durability of the peace treaty and began to make preparations for a more local conflict. 'This year and the one following he spent in constructing ships and gathering and training rowers', and, calling upon his trusted friend's proven organizational skills again, 'entrusted to Agrippa the equipping of the fleet.'¹⁰

In late spring 39 BCE Caesar left for Gallia Transalpina. Agrippa likely accompanied him.¹¹ Across the Alps lay the territory newly conquered by Iulius Caesar. In negotiating the reassignment of provinces at Brundisium, Caesar's seizure of Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Comata after the death of Calenus had been formally recognized. Gallia Comata – 'Long Haired Gaul' – had been largely neglected in terms of its economic and political development in the

two decades since Iulius Caesar had conquered it, and the people were restless. That year the tribal confederation living along the western shore rose up, taking advantage of the withdrawal of many of the eleven legions the young Caesar had acquired from Calenus, and the absence of his general Salvidienus from Gaul.

Now his principal military advisor, Caesar, who now began to use the title *Imperator* as his first name, needed Agrippa's expertise to squash the Aquitani rebels ([map 3](#)). At the start of 38 BCE Agrippa had to quickly assess the extent of the rebellion and understand the terrain and resources of the insurgents. About Aquitania Agrippa could have referred to Iulius Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*. Writing soon after his legate Licinius Crassus had engaged and defeated them in 56 BCE Iulius Caesar says, 'Aquitania extends from the Garumna River to the Pyrenaean mountains and to that part of the ocean which is near Hispania: it looks between the setting of the sun, and the north star.'¹² We have another account of the Romans' understanding of the region near contemporaneous with Agrippa's campaign in Strabo's *Geography* which states the Aquitani were not one tribe, but a federation of smaller clans,

namely, the fourteen Galatic tribes which inhabit the country between the Garumna and the Liger, some of which reach even to the river-land of the Rhône and to the plains of Narbonitis. For, speaking in a general way, the Aquitani differ from the Galatic race in the build of their bodies as well as in their speech; that is, they are more like the Iberians. Their country is bounded by the Garumna River, since they live between this and the Pyrenees. There are more than twenty tribes of the Aquitani, but they are small and lacking in repute; the majority of the tribes live along the ocean, while the others reach up into the interior and to the summits of the Cemmenus Mountains, as far as the Tectosages. But since a country of this size was only a small division, they added to it the country which is between the Garumna and the Liger.¹³



Map 3. Agrippa's Travels 39–35 BCE.

The great size of the area, the fragmented distribution of the clans and poor road network would make a campaign to pinpoint and quell the rebels difficult.¹⁴ The Aquitani had no particular love for the Romans. The cause of the insurrection is not disclosed in the extant sources, but Roman rule had yet to bring tangible benefits to the subject peoples. The course and duration of Agrippa's campaign to reduce the Aquitani is also nowhere documented; neither do we have details about the army at his command. What can be said is that the action seems to have concluded before the end of the year. Appian records simply that the report of the 'splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa' reached Rome at the same time Maecenas, acting as emissary, brought the other good news that Antonius had agreed to support Caesar in a new campaign against Sextus.¹⁵

His mission in Aquitania and Gallia Comata accomplished, Agrippa may have planned to return to Rome, but at the end of 38 or the start of 37, reports reached him of trouble along the Rhine River.¹⁶ The nature of the problem and who was involved are again not anywhere disclosed in the sources. It is recorded that raiding by the tribes based on the right bank of the river was commonplace, but Agrippa's response hints at a more serious issue, perhaps an attempt at transrhine migration and settlement by one or more tribes as a response to pressure from an aggressor, such as the Suebi. In a remarkable move, and indicative of his fearless hands-on style of leadership, Agrippa boldly led his men across the river to deal with the menace in person. In so doing Dio notes he was only 'the second of the Romans to cross the Rhine for war', but his expedition was cut short when he received instructions to 'finish the work on the fleet and train the men'.¹⁷

Agrippa's arrival in Rome in 37 BCE was eagerly awaited. In recognition of his victory over the Aquitani, he was awarded the rare honour of a full triumph.¹⁸ Agrippa himself was looking forward to assuming his first consulship. Coins issued by a mint travelling with Agrippa's own troops in Gaul – or perhaps with Caesar's in northern Italy – during the later part of the previous year seem intentionally designed to build up the anticipation, proudly announcing:

With the profile of a lightly bearded Caesar and the inscription IMP CAES DIVI IVLI F on the obverse, in no uncertain terms Agrippa was proclaiming his unswerving allegiance to ‘Commander Caesar, son of the divine Iulius’ – or Caesar was doing it on his behalf. At the age of 27, he was young for the highest office of state, but already he had proved to be an able civil administrator and military officer. Agrippa’s consulship took effect on New Year’s Day 37 BCE and he shared it with L. Caninius Gallus.²⁰ About Gallus little is known beyond the fact that several years later he would be one of the three magistrates responsible for the minting of coins.²¹ Later in the year Gallus would step down and his curule chair would be filled by a suffect consul, T. Statilius Taurus, who was at the time a known supporter of M. Antonius. Like Agrippa, Taurus was a *novus homo* and a commander with some talent. There was high turnover in many grades of magistracy in the city that year, but Agrippa’s position was unassailable and he served out his full term.²² As a consul he was entitled to a complement of twelve lictors, a bodyguard of handpicked men carrying the *fascēs*, the distinctive bundle of rods encasing an ax. His time would not be spent only passing laws and making senatorial appointments, however. War was imminent. To fulfil his military mission it was vital that Agrippa retained *consulare imperium*, absolute ‘consular power’, which included the legal right to lead troops to war.

The War with Sex. Pompeius

Agrippa was already a politically astute man. Remarkably, writes Dio, Agrippa ‘did not celebrate the triumph, considering it disgraceful for him to make a display when Caesar had fared so poorly, but set to work with great enthusiasm to fit out the fleet’.²³ The reason was that, while Agrippa was campaigning in Gallia Comata and Germania Magna, Caesar’s prospects had taken a dramatic turn for the worse. Off the coast of Italy his ships had clashed with Sextus’ and he had suffered great losses. With a fleet of ships and a large land army Sextus had grown rich by robbing ships on the high seas and raiding communities on the coast. Murcus had joined him with two legions, 500 archers, 80 ships and a large amount of money. At any time over the last year he could have invaded Italy, which, afflicted with famine

and civil strife, was looking for salvation, but in Appian's assessment, 'Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did until he failed in that also.'²⁴ Among several grounds for the conflict one *casus belli* was the defection to Caesar of Sextus' own freedman and naval commander Menas, and the fact that Caesar had not acted in good faith and returned him as was the custom between men of rank.²⁵ In retaliation, Sextus despatched Menecrates – another freedman – to Italy where he ravaged Volturnum (Castel Volturno, a *colonia* on the road to Casilinum and Capua) and terrorized the region of Campania.²⁶ Caesar soon discovered that he could not count on either Antonius or Lepidus: both failed to come to his aid when called upon.²⁷ Sextus trumpeted Antonius' apparent abandonment of his colleague as evidence that Caesar's conduct was 'not right' and applied himself all the more zealously to attacking his rival in Italy.²⁸ In Agrippa's absence, Caesar had appointed C. Calvisius Sabinus to command his fleet with Menas as his deputy.²⁹ At Cumae Sabinus and Menecrates clashed, during which Caesar lost the larger number of ships, since, Dio explains, he was arrayed against experienced seamen; but Menecrates foolishly engaged Menas and lost his life in the struggle. Sextus' men were disheartened by the news and, fearing that Caesar, who was now at Rhegium (Reggio Calabria), might cross over to Sicily, made their escape.³⁰ However, they were spotted by Sabinus, who gave chase. The pursuit proceeded until they reached the promontory of Scyllaeum (near modern Calabria and about 25km, 15 miles, north of Rhegium). There stormy seas scattered some of Sabinus' ships and sank others. Taking advantage of the catastrophe Sextus went after Caesar's warships. Thinking quickly, Caesar lined up his ships side by side with their prows facing out to sea making a direct frontal attack dangerous for Sextus.³¹ But against fire-bearing missiles and relentless assaults, Caesar could not hold his line for long and he issued the general order to weigh anchor and make for the relative safety of open sea.³² The weather again thwarted the triumvir's plans when the following day, a sudden windstorm blew up.³³ The result was tremendous loss of sailors and ships, and with it any ambition Caesar had for an invasion of Sicily.³⁴ At this rate of attrition, Caesar risked being taken out of the war when it had hardly started in earnest. To image conscious Caesar, for Agrippa to hold a triumph – however well

deserved – at that moment just would not have looked good.

On assuming office Agrippa set to work on preparations for the coming war against Sex. Pompeius.³⁵ To oversee the rebuilding of his fleet Caesar turned to Agrippa.³⁶ Agrippa had earned a formidable reputation for getting things done. Velleius Paterculus writes sixty years later,

M. Agrippa was charged with constructing the ships, collecting soldiers and rowers, and familiarizing them with naval contests and manoeuvres. He was a man of distinguished character, unconquerable by toil, loss of sleep or danger, well disciplined in obedience, but to one man alone, yet eager to command others; in whatever he did he knew no such thing as delay, but with him action went hand in hand with conception.³⁷

As before, he rose to the occasion and ‘set to work with great enthusiasm to fit out the fleet’.³⁸ Agrippa and his friend had given considerable thought to the type of warship they needed. At this point in his career Agrippa had no naval warfare experience, unlike his friend. He did, however, have a solid understanding of military strategy and tactics. Warships of the time were sleek vessels with hulls of pine waterproofed with pine tar, at the bow a protruding prow at water level capped with a bronze beak (*rostrum*), an upward curving stern, and were powered by a large single mainsail and a staysail.³⁹ When not moving under sail, below deck teams of oarsmen arranged in banks of two (bireme) or three (trireme) powered the ships. A trireme might measure 39m (128ft) from bow to stern, with an overall beam of 6.4m (21ft) and a waterline of 5m (16.5ft), with a crew estimated as 21 seamen, 122 rowers and 20–25 marines, including archers.⁴⁰ In contrast, Sextus’ fleet was made up of small but swift vessels called ‘liburnians’ (*liburniae*) modelled after those of the pirates his father had fought in 67 BCE.⁴¹ Based on depictions in wall paintings and stone carvings (plate 11) and on coins (plate 13), these might measure 25.9m (85ft in length), have a beam of 3.8m (12.5ft) and a waterline of 3.6m (11ft) – though larger biremes of up to 35.6m (117ft) with a waterline of 3.9m (13ft) could have been built.⁴² The crew of the smaller vessel would likely consist of 10 seamen, 60 rowers, 10 marines and 6 archers.

Traditional naval battle doctrine in the Mediterranean theatre was

either to row the ship at speed and ram the side of an opponent's vessel using the bronze beak to sink it, or to sweep past it and break his oars to disable it. Once 'dead in the water' and if it was still afloat, the enemy would face the choice of surrendering the vessel or being boarded and fighting on deck to defend it. Having already faced Sextus in battle and lost, Caesar and Agrippa realized they could not defeat him using the same equipment, strategy and tactics. Instead, they invested in heavier built, heavily armed ships and leveraged their larger mass and greater firepower to counter Sextus' advantages of agility and speed.⁴³ The stout construction of the Caesarian vessels would also be more resilient, reducing the risk of impact damage caused by direct ramming by Sextus' ships.

To facilitate his marines in their assault on the enemy craft, Agrippa also incorporated several devices which had been successfully used in other naval campaigns. One of these was a mechanism to snag a ship and draw it closer. Called the *harpax* (Greek ἄραξ) – from the Latin *harpagare*, to steal, or *harpago*, robber – it comprised a chain with an iron hook or claw.⁴⁴ This grappling-iron could be fired from a catapult. The other end of the chain was attached to a windlass so that once the hook had locked securely on the enemy's vessel the crew of the attacking ship would turn the winch and pull the captive equipment in closer and prevent its escape. Another device was the tower or turret (*turris*) upon which archers could stand or catapults could be mounted (plate 12), enabling marksmen to fire from a height upon the enemy ship and pick off particular targets of value. It was mounted on the deck, fore or aft, or one at both ends in the largest vessels. In bad weather, however, it could contribute to making the ship unstable. Agrippa invented a collapsible version of this launching platform – that is, it could be dismantled, and quickly reassembled – so that *en route* to the battle space it was not a hindrance.⁴⁵ Yet another piece of equipment was nicknamed the 'raven' (*corvus*, Greek κόραξ). It was a movable bridge which provided marines with a means to board and fight the opposing side. Attached to a pole, the bridge of the *corvus* would be rotated 90° over the side of the ship, then lowered with ropes and pulleys. It locked into the deck of the enemy vessel with the sharp metal spike – the beak of the 'raven' – attached underside at the end.⁴⁶ It had been used in the first real naval battle between Carthage and the Roman Republic; it took place

at Mylae (present day Milazzo) in 260 BCE. With the ship locked by the spiked platform, the triumvir's marines could board Sextus' boat and engage his crew in hand-to-hand combat taking advantage of their better equipment and training. Agrippa's innovation was to bring these simple mechanical devices together – a collapsible version of the *turris* to fire the *harpax*, the *corvus* to bridge the two ships – to help make a clash on the sea more akin to one fought on land, which, in theory, favoured the triumvir's side.

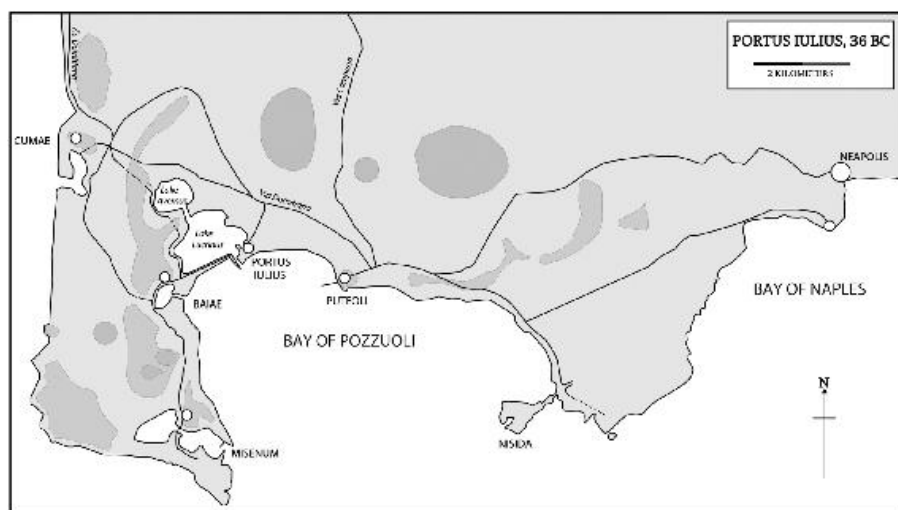
Agrippa injected urgency to the manufacturing project and engaged the patriotism of local communities in the enterprise so that soon 'all along the coasts of Italy vessels were being built'.⁴⁷ He brought discipline to the process of what today would be called 'organization and methods'. He recognized that once constructed at their disparate supply shipyards, the ships needed a single assembly point for final outfitting and a practice space where the crews and marines could be trained to use their equipment at optimum performance levels. 'Since no shore was found where it was safe for them to come to anchor,' writes Dio, 'inasmuch as most of the coast of Italy was even at that time without harbours, he conceived and executed a magnificent enterprise'.⁴⁸ Agrippa established such a location ([plate 10](#)) by connecting two natural inland lakes to create two enclosed spaces for his men to train on ([map 4](#)). Dio explains:

At Cumae in Campania, between Misenum and Puteoli, there is a crescent-shaped region, surrounded, except for brief gaps, by small, bare mountains; and it contains a branch of the sea which is like a bay and is divided into three parts. The first is outside, near the cities, the second is separated from it by a narrow strip of land, and the third, which is marshy in character, is seen at the very head of the inlet. The last is called Avernus, and the middle one the Lucrine Lake; the outer one is a part of the Tyrrhenian Sea and is classed with it also by its designation. Now since the Lucrine lay between a sea on either side, Agrippa cut narrow channels at this time, close to the shore on both sides, through the strip of land that separated it from the open sea, and thus produced excellent harbours for ships.⁴⁹

It was a massive undertaking and the engineering challenges Agrippa's

architects and builders had to overcome were enormous. Archaeological examination of the site in 2006 has revealed use of Roman hydraulic concrete on a massive scale.⁵⁰ Marking the entrance to the harbour were moles, each over 220m (721ft) long and 20–30m (66–98ft) wide, forming breakwaters with a channel of 40m (131ft) wide. Defining the ends of the moles was a series of large pillars of concrete (*pilae*), six on the port side (viewed from the sea) and one on the starboard. The *pilae* on the port side mole measured 1.6m (5.2ft) thick and on the starboard side only 1.5m (4.9ft) thick. The outer *pilae* each had four sides, measuring 9.6–11.1m (31–36ft) wide, with an overall height of over 6m (19.6ft). Analysis of cores taken from samples of *pilae* revealed wide variation in the proportions of materials used to make the concrete. Some had large pieces of aggregates mixed in with good quality mortar. Others comprised small aggregate of local tufa and little lime, making the mix porous, which suggested to the authors of the report that the builders used too much sea water in the concrete, rather than the result of being subjected to rough seas, since the chemical composition was consistent across the harbour. The inference is that the cement and aggregate were hurriedly mixed and poured into the wooden formworks. The labourers had to work fast because Agrippa had a tight deadline. That the harbour complex was complete by the end of 37 BCE was an astonishing achievement, one sufficiently noteworthy that both Vergil and Pliny the Elder cite the harbour as one of the man-made wonders of Italy. In the *Georgics* the poet sang:

Or sing her harbours, and the barrier cast
Athwart the Lucrine, and how ocean chafes
With mighty bellowings, where the Julian wave
Echoes the thunder of his rout, and through
Avernian inlets pours the Tuscan tide?⁵¹



Map 4. *Portus Iulius*.

The polymath wrote with awe, 'I pass in silence ... the Tyrrhenian Sea separated by an embankment from Lake Lucrinus.'⁵² With an eye to its obvious propaganda value, Agrippa named the installation *Portus Iulius* in honour of his friend.⁵³ Sadly, an earthquake in the sixteenth century destroyed the last remaining standing structures.

Headquartered at the nearby seaside resort of Baiae (Baia) Agrippa worked tirelessly on the project. 'Here', explains Dio, 'Agrippa, as soon as he had constructed the entrances, set about collecting his ships, which he proceeded to equip with decks, and his oarsmen, whom he trained to row on practice benches.'⁵⁴ The training was intense and lasted up to the end of the first half of the following year.⁵⁵ The burden on the Italian cities to continually supply manpower for the war effort was heavy and to supplement the recruitment drive some 20,000 slaves were given their freedom by Caesar and drafted into Agrippa's navy as oarsmen.⁵⁶ They received an unexpected windfall of freedom, but they faced a tough and unrelenting training regimen. Learning to row in unison to power the ship demanded physical stamina and endurance as well as co-ordination, as well as skill to manage the complete rigging of the massive square mainsail of the single tall mast. 'Building an imposing fleet in lakes Avernus and Lucrinus,' writes Paterculus, 'by daily drills he brought the soldiers and the oarsmen to a thorough knowledge of fighting on land and at sea.'⁵⁷ Indeed, by the spring of 37 BCE, when Antonius arrived at Tarentum with 300 ships, Caesar felt it unnecessary to meet his colleague to receive them, so confident was he in his own fleet.⁵⁸

Relations between the two triumvirs had become strained in the intervening years. Aware of the situation, Octavia interceded between her husband and brother to reconcile the two men. In the autumn she approached Agrippa and Maecenas and succeeded in persuading them to support her.⁵⁹ With his two closest confidants on her side, Caesar finally relented to his sister's wisdom and agreed to meet his estranged colleague. At Tarentum on the Taras River the two men met and discussed their military predicaments.⁶⁰ A transfer of military assets was agreed: Caesar would provide 20,000 legionaries for Antonius' war in Parthia. In return for these Antonius would furnish Caesar with 130 ships to prosecute his war against Sextus, and in a show of his good faith Caesar released 1,000 picked men immediately. The two agreed to extend the term of their triumvirate for a further

term of five years. Antonius also agreed to strip Sextus of the privileges he had been granted at Misenum, making him a legitimate target for Caesar's campaign, which resumed as soon as Antonius departed for the East.⁶¹

Up to this time, there is no mention of Agrippa having married. It was likely during this year that the 27-year-old Agrippa first took a wife. His bride was Caecilia Attica, the daughter of Cicero's closest friend and correspondent T. Pomponius Atticus.⁶² Many had tried to secure her hand in marriage from a very young age, but her father had waited until she was 14-years-old, then considered to be of marriageable age.⁶³ The marriage was arranged by M. Antonius, perhaps as early as 42 BCE at Tarentum.⁶⁴ Agrippa could have married a girl from a patrician family, but either because of modesty or preference, he chose to marry one from the equestrian class.⁶⁵ It speaks highly of Agrippa's character that the discerning man such as Atticus was, would agree to him marrying his daughter. Agrippa had the highest regard for his father-in-law and formed a close bond with him that endured for the rest of his life.⁶⁶ The couple appear to have enjoyed a contented union and soon tried to have children. Sometime between 37 and 33 BCE a daughter was born and given the name Vipsania Agrippina.⁶⁷ She likely remained in Rome while Agrippa attended to military matters. Caesar, meanwhile, had dumped Antonius' sister and married Livia Drusilla on 17 January 38 BCE, even though she was pregnant by Ti. Claudius Nero. After her son Decimus (later changed to Nero) Claudius Drusus was born, the baby was promptly handed back to her former husband, to raise him and his older brother Tiberius in his household.⁶⁸

At *Portus Iulius* on 1 July 36 BCE a solemn lustration ceremony was held to purify the fleet and its crews.⁶⁹ Appian recounts the sacred event:

Altars were erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude were ranged around them in ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who performed the ceremony offered the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carried the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times around the fleet, the commander [Agrippa] sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of

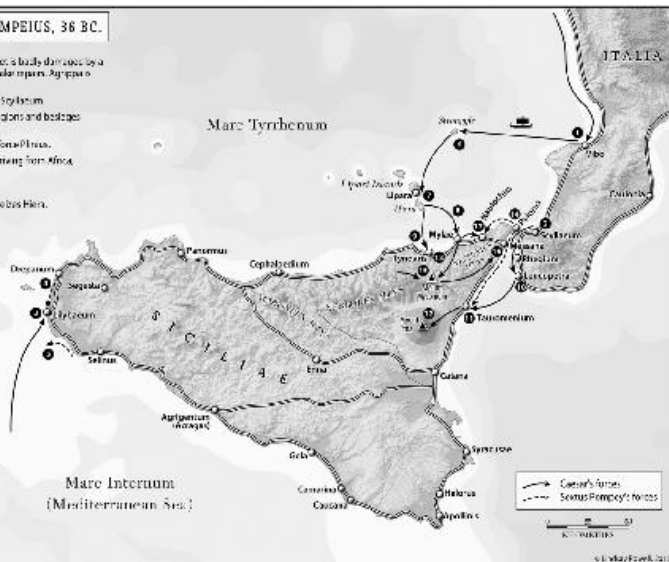
the fleet. Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burned them, while the multitude chanted in unison.⁷⁰

Assured that the gods had been placated, Agrippa's ship led the fleet out of the safe haven that had been the home of the fleet and into the Gulf of Pozzuoli ([map 5](#)). Separately Caesar set sail from the harbour at Puteoli, while Lepidus departed from Africa and Statilius Taurus left from Tarentum in command of the ships loaned from Antonius.⁷¹ Their destination was Sicily and their strategy was to encircle and blockade the island, land an army and retake it.⁷² Weather once again scuttled Caesar's ambition. Just three days after they left port, a severe storm blew up which capsized many of Lepidus's fleet of '1,000 ships of burden', sinking some part of his '12 legions of soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus'.⁷³ Despite the setback, Lepidus still managed to land his men and matériel in Sicily and immediately began to lay siege to Plennius in Lilybaeum, securing 'some towns by persuasion and others by force'.⁷⁴ Taurus was not so fortunate. The storm forced him to withdraw his 102 ships and sail back to Tarentum.⁷⁵ At the outset of the storm, Caesar had taken the precaution of sheltering his fleet in the safety of the Bay of Elea, saving all but a six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory.⁷⁶ Winds, which interminably changed direction, and the choppy sea tested the skill of the oarsmen who tried their best to steady their ships, but neither their strength nor the anchors lodged on the seabed could prevent the vessels colliding with each other or smashing against the rocks. The onset of night only added to the confusion and woe. When the sun rose next day, Caesar was dismayed to discover that six of his heavy-built ships, twenty-six lighter ones and a larger number of *liburniae* had been destroyed.⁷⁷ He estimated it would take a month to carry out repairs, re-equip his men, heal his wounded and bury his dead. It was an inauspicious start. Time was running out. Cautious by nature, he resolved to postpone the campaign until the following year. He dispatched the crews who now found themselves without ships to Taurus to man the empty vessels under his command. Leaving Agrippa to supervise the repairs, Caesar headed back to Italy, where he visited the new *coloniae* to allay fears that his was not a lost cause, and met with Taurus at Tarentum, before

settling in at Vibo (Vibo Valentia) in Calabria for the winter. To Rome, where supporters of Pompeius still wielded influence, Caesar sent Maecenas whose wealth and charm could buy him time.

THE WAR AGAINST SEXTUS POMPEIUS, 36 BCE.

- 1 Departure from Tarentum on 1 July. Caesar's fleet is badly damaged by a storm on day three and returns to Sicily to make repairs. Agrippa is left in charge of remaining ships.
- 2 Taurinus moves with troops from Tarentum to Syracusum.
- 3 Arriving from Africa, Lepidus lands with 12 legions and besieges Lilybaeum held by Plautus.
- 4 Pompeius sends Taurinus with troops to reinforce Plautus.
- 5 Pompeius emboscos Lepidus' reinforcements arriving from Africa, destroying two of the four legions.
- 6 Agrippa leads fleet to Scorpaene.
- 7 Agrippa leads fleet to the Lipari Islands and seizes Menae.
- 8 With half his fleet Agrippa inflicts damage on Demetrius and troops at Mylae.
- 9 Agrippa seizes Syracuse.
- 10 Caesar marches to Leucopetrium.
- 11 Caesar advances to Tauromenium, Italy's Italian Promontory, and sea falls.
- 12 Cicerilius with his own men camp outside Tauromenium. Seen by Agrippa, sails into camp with Cicerilius near Mount Etna and they make for Mylae.
- 13 Caesar sends his fleet and army at Mylae with Agrippa.
- 14 Pompeius retreats to Sicily and central from Delmus to Mylae.
- 15 Caesar links up with Lepidus near Mount Mylae.
- 16 Caesar moves to his camp at Messana with Lepidus.
- 17 Pompeius challenges Caesar to battle. Caesar agrees. Agrippa's fleet engages Pompeius at Naulochus on 3 September. Defeated, Pompeius retreats to Rhegium.



Map 5. The War Against Sex. Pompeius, 36 BCE.

In a lapse of judgement Sextus failed to seize the opportunity to smash his opponent's fleet once and for all. Instead he offered sacrifice to Neptune in thanks, and convinced himself that he had been favoured by Providence who had seen off his enemies, not once but twice.⁷⁸ He swapped the red *paludamentum*, the cloak worn by Roman commanders, for a blue one and claimed boastfully to be the adopted son of the sea god. He hoped that his adversary would finally give up on his quest, but across the sea in Vibo a very sober Caesar had his mind firmly fixed on the forthcoming campaign and roused his infantry and expedited the repairs to his fleet.⁷⁹ Agrippa concerned himself with all aspects of the refurbishment of the damaged ships down to the minutiae of the provision of materials.⁸⁰ When Sextus learned about Caesar's intensive reparations his swanky mood changed to one of alarm.⁸¹ He dispatched Menodorus with seven ships to reconnoitre his opponent's installations and ordered him to cause as much havoc as he could while there; but Sextus' captain was still smarting from having been overlooked for the supreme naval command and began planning a different outcome. When he reached the triumvir's shipyard he found neither Caesar nor Agrippa there – Agrippa was away procuring timber, leaving Valerius Messala in charge.⁸² Menodorus' hit and run raid on the yard caused consternation, though the actual damage done was more to Agrippa's troops' pride than material. Menodorus had a secret plan. Since Agrippa's appointment to the command of the fleet, he intended to defect to Caesar 'who had done him no wrong'.⁸³ Inviting Mindius Marcellus, a trusted friend of Caesar, to a meeting on a small island away from the shipyard, he convinced him of the sincerity of his intention. When Caesar approached Menodorus prostrated himself before the commander-in-chief. He acceded to the man's wishes, though he had him secretly watched because he did not trust him.⁸⁴ Caesar's unexpected gain was Sextus' unforeseen loss.

Caesar gave the order for the campaign to recommence. Two legions under Messala crossed the Strait of Messina and landed on Sicily where they joined up with the army of Lepidus.⁸⁵ Meanwhile Statilius Taurus sailed from Tarentum around the coast to Mount Scylacium and successfully landed his troops. There he briefly met Caesar, before he returned to his operations base at Vibo. More men and matériel from Africa attempted to land but were intercepted by

Papias, one of Sextus' captains.⁸⁶ Two legions were lost at sea and any men who managed to reach the shore were struck down without mercy by the Pompeians. Nevertheless, Lepidus' other legions did manage to land at a later date.

Battle of Mylae

Agrippa was at Caesar's side in Vibo.⁸⁷ After first reconnoitering the area, they decided now was the right moment to despatch their refurbished fleet. They agreed to take up a position at Strongyle (modern Stromboli), a small volcanic island in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the north coast of Sicily. Caesar then left Agrippa in command of the fleet. Caesar went to join up with Messala and Taurus with the objective of launching an attack on land against Sextus' stronghold at Tauromenium (Taormina on the east side of the island). In the ensuing naval engagements Agrippa would show the first flashes of tactical genius as a sea warrior.

In early August Agrippa moved his fleet from Strongyle to the island of Hieria (the modern Egadi Islands) laying a few miles off the coast of Trapani (west Sicily).⁸⁸ Pompeius' garrison offered no resistance and Agrippa seized Hieria. The following day he planned to attack Demochares, Sextus' deputy, who had forty ships docked at Mylae.⁸⁹ The place had special resonance for the Romans. Here in 260 BCE the first real naval battle between Carthage and the Roman Republic took place. It was Rome's first win at sea. Perhaps buoyed by memory of the ancient victory, Caesar's deputy adopted a suitably menacing stance.⁹⁰ Sextus immediately sent 45 ships to Demochares from Messana (present-day Messina) under the command of his freedman Apollophanes, and followed up himself in person with seventy more vessels. Appian's account of the Battle of Mylae is evocative and worth quoting in full:

Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hieria before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only.⁹¹ When he saw the fleet of Apollophanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Caesar at once that Pompeius was at Mylae with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hieria in

all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Caesar were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Caesar, but the latter were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, in breaking oar blades and rudders, cutting off oar handles, or separating the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Caesar sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the *corvus* and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians, whenever they were overpowered in this manner, leaped into the sea and were picked up by their small boats, which were hovering around for this purpose.⁹²

Aboard his flagship, Agrippa identified his adversary and went straight after him:

Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking a hole in the keel. The men in the towers were shaken down, the water rushed into the ship, and all the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off. The others broke through the deck and escaped by swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of his own, and returned to the battle.⁹³

From Sextus' vantage point, the unfolding situation looked increasingly hopeless:

Pompeius, who observed from a mountain that his ships were making little headway, and that whenever they came to close

quarters with the enemy they were denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal to retire in good order. This they did, advancing and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea by river deposits.⁹⁴

He now wanted to move in for the kill, but danger lurked in the waters and

Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to fight a battle by night if necessary; but his friends advised him not to be carried away by rashness and not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians made sail to their harbours, having lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius praised his own men because they had resisted such formidable vessels, saying they had fought against walls rather than against ships; and he rewarded them as though they had been victorious. He encouraged them to believe that, as they were lighter, they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on account of the current. He said also that he would make some addition to the height of his ships. Such was the result of the naval battle at Mylae between Agrippa and Papias.⁹⁵

Agrippa had won his first naval battle. Hearing the news, Antonius is reported as having reproached Caesar with the words 'you were not able to take a clear view of the fleet, when drawn up in line of battle, but lay stupidly upon your back, gazing at the sky; nor did you get up and let your men see you, until M. Agrippa had forced the enemies' ships to sheer off'.⁹⁶ Caesar may not have deserved the barb, but it was a compliment to Agrippa's talent.

Now Agrippa had to quickly decide how best to exploit that success. Appian continues,

Pompeius suspected that Caesar had gone to the camp of

Taurus for the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was the fact. So, directly after supper, he sailed to Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylae so that Agrippa might think that he was still there. Agrippa, as soon as his army was sufficiently rested, bestirred himself and set sail for Tyndaris [modern Tindari], which had offered to surrender. He entered the town, but the garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some other towns espoused his cause and received his garrisons, and he returned that evening. In the meantime, Caesar had sailed from Scylacium to Leucopetra, [modern Capo dell' Armi] having learned for a certainty that Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylae on account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night, but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind, thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage, but to cross with his army boldly by daylight; for he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still confronting Agrippa. Looking down from the mountains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the River Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, [located at modern Capo di Schiso] intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium.⁹⁷

Caesar was not yet aware of Agrippa's victory. Back at Tauromenium he had with him '3 legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1,000 light-armed, and 2,000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet'.⁹⁸ As his surveyors laid out his marching camp, he found himself suddenly surrounded on three sides by Sex. Pompeius – cavalry approached him on land and ships advanced from the sea. Caesar's inexperience showed itself again when he hesitated to rally his men for battle. On their own initiative, his troops split into disparate groups, each fighting until onset of night when the enemy withdrew. Finally Caesar delegated command to Cornificius 'and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency

required'.⁹⁹ He boarded his flagship and sailed off to rally his fleet. Even as he was doing this Sextus' own fleet appeared on the horizon. Caesar had been caught unprepared. His vessels were routed and he only managed to escape because he had taken the precaution of hiding the commander's ensign so his ship could not be picked out. All at sea, Caesar's boat drifted until it arrived at the harbour town of Abala. There he found men sympathetic to his cause and he was able to get a message to Cornificius and another to Agrippa that he was well. He urged Agrippa to send Laronius and troops to come to the aid of Cornificius. Caesar himself left with Messala to Styliis where three legions stood ready under Carinas' command. Messala went on to Puteoli to fetch *Legio* I to his base at Vibo. He issued orders for Carinas to depart for Lipara.¹⁰⁰ On the political front, he charged Maecenas to return to Rome again to deal with the 'Revolutionists' who were stirring up trouble for him in the city.

Cornificius put up a stout defence behind the stake-topped turf wall of his temporary camp. While Sextus hoped to defeat him by starving him into submission, Cornificius broke out and tried to engage him in set-piece battle. The Pompeian would not oblige, and Cornificius led his men instead in an attempt to escape along a road, while subjected to an enfilade of missiles hurled at them by Numidian auxiliaries recruited by Sextus.¹⁰¹ Their escape proved a terrifying ordeal and Cornificius took many casualties.¹⁰² To his great relief Laronius arrived and Cornificius – and what remained of his army – finally made it to Mylae.¹⁰³

Agrippa, meanwhile, was trying again to take and hold Tyndaris, which Appian describes as 'a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare'.¹⁰⁴ The city, located some 58km (36 miles) from Messina, stood on a high hill projecting out as a promontory into the bay of the Tyrrhenian Sea bounded by the Punta di Milazzo on the east and the Capo Calavià on the west. It was regarded as strategically important by its Greek founders in the fourth century BCE and by both Carthaginians and Romans during the First Punic War. Following that brutal conflict it remained loyal to Rome, so much so that Cicero described it as *nobilissima civitas*, the 'most noble community'.¹⁰⁵ To capture the city became a strategic imperative for Agrippa. Nothing is recorded about the course of the siege save only that by the time Cornificius had escaped from his

camp at the Shrine of the Archegetes it had already fallen to Agrippa.¹⁰⁶ Now securely under Agrippa's control, Caesar moved into Tyndaris with his troops and supplies, which were considerable: 21 legions (about 126,000 infantrymen assuming full strength), 20,000 cavalry and more than 5,000 lightly-armed skirmishing troops.¹⁰⁷

Battle of Naulochus

Sextus still controlled the coastline of the northeastern promontory of Sicily from Mylae to Pelorus (Punta del Faro). He deployed garrisons along it and fortified the inland mountain passes. 'In fear of Agrippa', writes Appian, 'they kept fires burning continually, signifying that they would set fire to any ships that should sail against them.'¹⁰⁸ For a while the ploy worked, but the menacing sight of Agrippa's warships offshore troubled Sextus deeply. Finally, believing a report he received that Agrippa was advancing his fleet against him, he moved his position to Pelorus, abandoning Mylae and vicinity to Caesar.¹⁰⁹ The report turned out to be false and Caesar was now able to ravage the region at will. By chance he found Lepidus when he was out foraging with his men near Mount Etna, and Caesar invited the triumvir to share his camp near Messana. Agrippa anchored his fleet nearby.¹¹⁰

Caesar decided the best strategy was to starve his opponent into submission and dispatched Taurus to capture the towns and hamlets which provided his supplies. Without provisions Sextus knew full well would soon fail. He still believed his strength was his nimble fleet. His best option now was to gamble everything on one last naval battle. He sent a message to Caesar inviting him to engage him in a naval battle to decide the war once and for all. Caesar accepted. A day was agreed and the place was the bay at Naulochus.¹¹¹ Neither the day – perhaps 3 September – nor the exact location of Naulochus are known for certain, but the battle site lay somewhere east of Mylae where the coast sweeps into a great bay. On one side of it were arrayed 300 ships of Sex. Pompeius, Apollophanes (Papias), Demochares and Tisienus Gallus; on the other the assembled fleet of triumvir C. Iulius Caesar under the command of M. Agrippa.¹¹² Along the shore, the infantrymen of both opponents stood and watched. Appian vividly describes the battle:

When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen

were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the crew and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power. The generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The *harpago* achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, especially when the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the *harpago* did its work.¹¹³

Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and diverse frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other completely, and meanwhile the fighting and the sea were a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships. They left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of

safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other.¹¹⁴

Judging from the colours of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Caesar who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on the land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself, darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messina, giving no orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Caesar received the surrender of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Caesar's ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground, and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.¹¹⁵

Sextus escaped with his daughter and closest friends along with seventeen ships to Mytilene, Lesbos and sought asylum with M. Antonius.¹¹⁶ Caesar did not pursue his adversary, nor did he encourage others to do so on his behalf.¹¹⁷ Sextus had sought the protection of his colleague, and to encroach on his dominion might prove provocative, and, moreover, as he stated later, he was not one of his father's murderers.

Although Sextus had fled, his deputy L. Plinius had remained in Sicily and occupied Messina. While Caesar stayed in Naulochus, he

despatched Agrippa and Lepidus to deal with Plinius. Seeing Caesar's deputies and their armies gathering outside the walls of the city, Plinius sued for peace terms. Agrippa preferred to wait until Caesar arrived, but Lepidus, impatient to see the Pompeian's troops join his own, accepted his surrender and let his soldiers pillage the city. The addition of new men at arms grew Lepidus' force to twenty-two legions, and a large contingent of cavalry.¹¹⁸ Emboldened by his military strength he actively sought to take the whole island for himself and ordered his men to secure the defiles around the city so Caesar could not enter it. It was a foolish and consequential move. Through mutual friends the two men communicated. Lepidus wanted a larger role in the Triumvirate, which Caesar refused to grant him. The two men argued, and a standoff ensued. Caesar managed to win over Lepidus' troops and when he entered his camp, following a struggle, he was hailed *imperator* and the men deserted to him.¹¹⁹ Realizing the hopelessness of his situation Lepidus presented himself to Caesar and sought his mercy. Caesar showed clemency, but stripped him of his position as *triumvir* and military command, letting him keep only his office of *pontifex maximus*.¹²⁰ So quickly had one of the three most powerful men had been reduced to little better than a private citizen. Through the defections, Caesar's army now numbered 45 legions, 25,000 cavalry and 40,000 lightly-armed troops, as well as 600 warships.¹²¹ However, his own troops, who had fought for him at Philippi and on other battlefields since now demanded their share of the rewards and to be allowed to retire. In the face of mutiny, Caesar remonstrated with his men, but it was an argument he could not win without greater loss to himself.¹²² Shrewdly, he recognized the contributions and sacrifices made by the troops and distributed awards for service and valour to all and prizes of victory to many, and in so doing secured their loyalty for a while longer.

When Caesar entered Rome victorious on 13 November 36 BCE he well knew that it was in large part due to his friend's organization and military leadership skills that he did so. Agrippa's loyalty too was rewarded. In two great sea battles in as many months, Agrippa had broken the military wing of Caesar's political opposition. The position of the son of the Divine Iulius was now more secure, enabling him to stand up to his Pompeian adversaries in the Roman senatorial class. Agrippa had also eliminated the menace which the surviving son of

Pompeius Magnus had inflicted upon the coastal regions of Italy and Africa. The grain could flow again unhindered from Africa and Sicily to the warehouses of Rome beside the Tiber, and the plebs could sleep at night knowing they would receive their daily bread. Agrippa's vital contribution was rewarded with the gift of rich estates in Sicily, which had been confiscated from sympathizers of Sextus.¹²³ The cash crops from these would generate enormous wealth for him in the years to come. Yet Agrippa merited a very special reward, one intended to be a very public recognition for his achievement. Caesar created a brilliant, one-of-a-kind military decoration for his loyal but modest friend.¹²⁴ Various known as the *corona classica*, *corona navalis* or *corona rostrata* (plate 4), it was a golden wreath surmounted with ships' *rostra*, which Vergil later described as,

A naval crown, that binds his manly brows,
The happy fortune of the fight foreshows.¹²⁵

It was a conspicuous award and one intended to be seen. A law was passed permitting him to wear this naval crown in triumphal processions.¹²⁶ Widely circulated silver coins were minted showing Agrippa wearing this distinctive military decoration.¹²⁷

The Illyrian War

Hardly had Caesar and Agrippa rested in Rome when they turned their attention to the Western Balkans and the inland region of Pannonia. Dio explains that:

He had no complaint to bring against them, not having been wronged by them in any way, but he wanted both to give his soldiers practice and to support them at the expense of an alien people, for he regarded every demonstration against a weaker party as just, when it pleased the man who was their superior in arms.¹²⁸

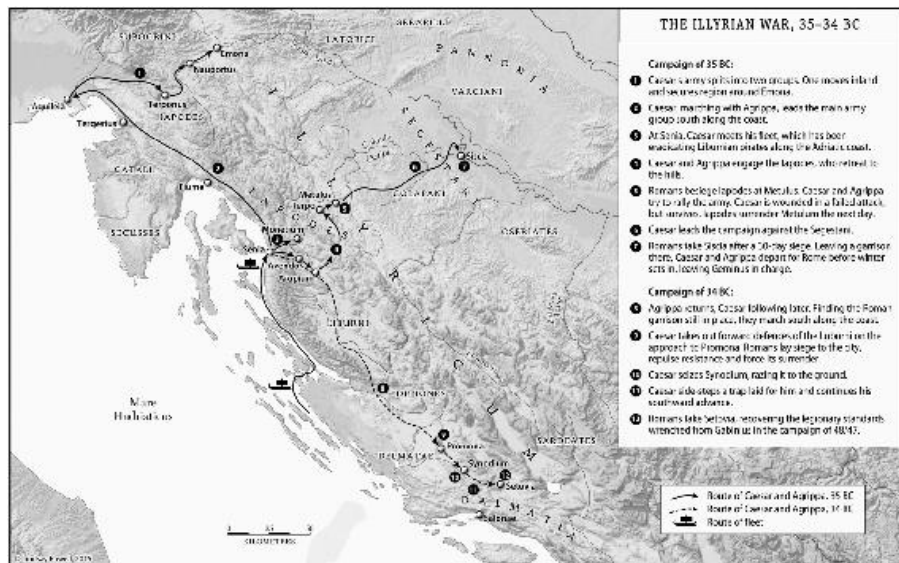
Appian points to a longer term strategic goal, which was 'Augustus greatly desired to possess it as a magazine convenient for a war against the Dacii and the Bastarnae on the other side of the Ister, which is there called the Danuvius'.¹²⁹ The Romans made 'first contact' with the region in 229 BCE after crossing the Adriatic Sea, but it only came under the direct rule of Rome after it had been

subjugated by military means in 167 BCE. The following year it became a protectorate. The 41-year-old Iulius Caesar was appointed to govern it in 59 BCE prior to his campaigns in Gaul. It was an important corridor between Italy, Macedonia, Greece and Asia. The short crossing by sea from Brundisium to Apollonia or Dyrrhacium saved time and expense compared to going overland via Aquileia and down the western Balkan peninsula.¹³⁰ It was along the craggy Dalmatian coast and islands with its abundant sheltered natural harbours that pirates had launched their attacks on Roman shipping. Rome had long since dealt with them, but some Liburni still engaged in piracy, providing a *casus belli* for Caesar to lead an expedition (*expeditio*) against the Illyrians in person.¹³¹

The Romans called the western Balkans by the name Illyricum.¹³² Only later would they distinguish between Dalmatia and Pannonia. Dalmatian Illyricum ran along the Adriatic coast, stretching from the Drilon River in the south (in modern Albania) to Istria in the west (in modern Croatia) and to the Sava River in the north (in what is now Bosnia-Herzegovina).¹³³ Pannonian Illyricum was land-locked and bounded by the Sava River to the south, and stretched to Alps in the kingdom of Noricum (in modern Austria) in the west, the province of Moesia (in modern Hungary) in the east, and as far north as the banks of the Danube River.¹³⁴ There were no people who called themselves Illyrici: the region was a patchwork of independent native and immigrant communities living side by side, with different cultures, languages and politico-economic systems.¹³⁵ In the north-west, in the foothills of the eastern Alps, near the Isonzo and the source of the Sava rivers, the tribes spoke a language called Venetic. Tribes speaking Celtic tongues occupied a broad sweep of the Balkans along the Sava and Drava rivers and their tributaries as far as the Morava. Illyrian peoples in the hills and valleys down towards the Adriatic coast lived alongside communities which had been heavily influenced by colonies of Greek settlers since the fourth century.

The details of the two-year long Illyrian War (*Bellum Illyricum*) are preserved by Appian and Dio.¹³⁶ The expeditionary army began operations in the north (map 6). Dio states that Caesar personally led the campaign against the Iapodes, a nation of people who lived on the far south-eastern end of the Alps.¹³⁷ They are described by Appian as a strong and savage tribe and by Strabo as a war-mad people, who

adds that their armour was Celtic in style and that they were tattooed like the rest of the Illyrians and the Thracians.¹³⁸ Caesar is reported as having delegated the task of subduing the rest of the tribes to others, among them C. Fufius Geminus, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus and T. Statilius Taurus.¹³⁹ Along the coastal inlets and islands a fleet of warships located and utterly destroyed the vessels used by the Liburni to harm Roman trade crossing the Adriatic.¹⁴⁰ The lowland settlements fell quickly, but as the Romans advanced through their country and up into the hills they were met with stiff resistance.¹⁴¹ The Iapodes felled trees to block the trackways and launched ambushes from the cover of forest vegetation, but while they inflicted casualties against the invaders, their own losses were heavier.¹⁴² They abandoned their hamlets and towns in the lowlands, among which was Terponus. The Iapodes retreated up the mountain passes and made their last stand at their largest hilltop stronghold of Metulus, where Agrippa's presence is recorded with certainty.¹⁴³



Map 6. The Illyrian War, 35–34 BCE.

Located atop two ridges with a narrow valley between them and surrounded by a thick forest, the Romans erected a circumvallation around Metulus and settled in for a long siege. The resourceful defenders – some 3,000 in number – were prepared, even armed with Roman artillery they had captured from earlier encounters with D. Iunius Brutus.¹⁴⁴ As the Romans raised an earthen mound the Metulians launched raids by day and night to interrupt the work of the engineers. When they finally broke through their circuit wall, the Romans found that the Metulians had responded by erecting a secondary wall inside. Caesar's men now erected two mounds of earth and stones and from these constructed four gangways or bridges leading to the top of this second wall. Caesar himself ascended a siege tower from where he observed the unfolding battle. To create a diversion, he sent units to attack the town from the rear while the main force moved over the bridges. The Metulians along the top of the wall rebuffed the assault with missiles and then raced on to the gangway to engage in close hand-to-hand combat, while others unseen by the Romans worked below to undermine the footings of the bridges.¹⁴⁵ The defenders were greatly encouraged when one of the bridges fell and the adjacent structure collapsed on top of it.¹⁴⁶ When the third bridge fell, the Romans began to panic. The men hesitated to step foot on the fourth bridge anticipating that it too would collapse. Enraged by what he saw, Caesar himself jumped down from the tower and remonstrated with the legionaries; but his strong words did not stir them to action (plate 7). Grabbing a shield he jogged on to the bridge, exposing himself to great danger. His deputies quickly followed:

Agrippa and Hiero, two of the generals, and one of his bodyguard, Lucius, and Volas ran with him, only these four with a few armour-bearers. He had almost crossed the bridge when the soldiers, overcome by shame, rushed after him in crowds. Then this bridge, being overweighted, fell also, and the men on it went down in a heap. Some were killed and others were carried away with broken bones. Caesar was injured in the right leg and in both arms.¹⁴⁷

Caesar was pulled back to the safety of his tower and stood up to show himself to the troops. His men were heartened by the sight, but

the Metulians were astonished to see him still alive and were now consumed with terror. The next day defenders parleyed and offered hostages.¹⁴⁸ Rather than face capture, however, the town's inhabitants burned down Metulus and many took their own lives, including women and children.¹⁴⁹ Geminus, meantime, took Siscia.¹⁵⁰

Caesar then turned his attention against the Pannonii. He marched through the territory of the Segestani to reach them. Appian notes that:

Pannonia is a wooded country extending from the Iapodes to the Dardani. The inhabitants do not live in cities, but are scattered through the country or in villages according to relationship. They have no common council and no rulers over the whole nation.¹⁵¹

If Appian's estimate is to be believed they numbered some 100,000 fighting men.¹⁵² There the local people evacuated their towns and villages. To induce them to surrender rather than resist, at first Caesar did not plunder and burn their property.¹⁵³ However, when he approached Siscia and his army was subjected to constant harassment, Caesar decided a tougher response was needed. Scorched earth became the new tactic. Outlying settlements and fields were plundered and razed. The Illyrians sought terms and handed over hostages, but quickly broke their word and slammed shut the city gates of their stronghold.¹⁵⁴ They gambled on the defense offered by the nearby Colops (Kulpa) and Sava rivers which they had fortified with palisades and ditches; Caesar had no choice now but to besiege Siscia and take it by force.¹⁵⁵ The Romans assembled river craft from their allies on the Danube and towed them down the Sava to the Colops and used them to engage the Illyrians directly from the water.¹⁵⁶ The defenders lost heart and surrendered. The campaign moved on to capture other key strongholds. As winter approached operations were wound up. On his way back Agrippa may have investigated the potential for commercial production of lead south of Sirmium.¹⁵⁷

The Senate granted Emperor Caesar *Divi filius* a triumph for his victories in Illyricum, which he deferred to be celebrated another time.¹⁵⁸ Instead, buoyed by his success in the Balkans, Caesar set off for Gaul with a notional plan for an invasion of the island of the

Britons, intending to emulate his adoptive father, but that had to be abandoned when the Balkans erupted once again in revolt.¹⁵⁹ His field commanders quickly responded to the uprising. Fufius Geminus, who had since been ousted from Siscia, managed to retake it and Pannonia too after several battles; Statilius Taurus waged war against the remaining nations in the Balkans; and Valerius Messalla took on and defeated the Salassi on the southwestern side of the Alps.¹⁶⁰ Satisfied that the territories were firmly under Roman control and putting Geminus in charge with a small force, Caesar and Agrippa left the region at end of the year.¹⁶¹

In the spring of 34 BCE, Agrippa returned to the western Balkans and took the lead role against the Delmatae in the south sector of the combat zone, with Caesar joining him later.¹⁶² This may have been an entirely land-based operation, or it may have been combined with naval patrols – the sources omit the details. Ten years earlier the Delmatae had annihilated five cohorts under A. Gabinius and taken their *signa*.¹⁶³ Recapturing those lost standards was a strong motivator to Roman commanders. Appian records that the Delmatae:

had upwards of 12,000 fighting men under a general named Versus. He occupied Promona, the city of the Liburni, and fortified it, although it was very strong by nature. It is a mountain stronghold surrounded on all sides by sharp-pointed hills like saw-teeth. The greater part of his forces were stationed in the town, but he placed guards on the hills and all of them looked down upon the Romans from elevated positions. Caesar in plain sight began to draw a wall around the whole, but secretly he sent his bravest men to seek a path to the highest of the hills. These, concealing themselves in the woods, fell upon the guards by night while they were asleep, slew them, and signalled to Caesar in the twilight. He led the bulk of the army to make an attempt upon the city, and sent another force to hold the height that had been taken, while the captors of it should get possession of the lower hills. Terror and confusion fell upon the barbarians everywhere, for they believed themselves to be attacked on all sides. Especially were those on the hills alarmed lest they should be cut off from their supply of water, for which reason they all fled to Promona.¹⁶⁴

A siege similar to that at Metulus followed.¹⁶⁵ However, unlike the Metulians, the defenders at Promona received help from outside. The Dalmatian war chief Testimus arrived with troops. While some Roman troops were diverted to repel them, others finished the circumvallation. An attempt by the defenders to break through the circuit wall and ditch failed, enabling the Romans to enter the city and inflict terrible casualties on a third of the inhabitants. The rest retreated to the citadel. Caesar placed a cohort by the gateway to control it, but when the defenders sallied out, rather than holding their position, the Romans guarding the entrance fled. For abandoning their posts, Caesar ordered the unit be decimated: every tenth man chosen by lot was summarily executed. Among them were two centurions. The surviving troops were placed on barley rations instead of wheat.¹⁶⁶ Promona finally fell, and soon the surrounding towns, including Sunodium and Setovia, were taken.¹⁶⁷

The war had severely tried Emperor Caesar's patience and to reduce the remaining tribes he delegated the mission to Statilius Taurus.¹⁶⁸ Towards the end of 34 BCE he returned to Rome in readiness to take up the consulship for the new year. Once sworn in, he immediately resigned, appointing L. Autronius Paetus as his suffect before returning again to Illyricum. Having lost the previous summer to war fighting and faced with the almost certain fate of starvation, the Daematae finally offered their surrender. At Caesar's insistence 700 children were handed over as hostages, the military *signa* taken from Gabinius were returned and the Delmatae promised to pay in full the tribute owing since the time of his adoptive father.¹⁶⁹ One after the other nations soon followed in supplication and surrendered to the Romans. With hyperbole Appian sums up the achievement 'thus Caesar subdued the whole Illyrian country, not only the parts that had revolted from the Romans, but those that had never before been under their rule'.¹⁷⁰ In 33 BCE the region officially became province Illyricum administered by a senatorial *proconsul*.¹⁷¹ It had taken two years of unrelenting struggle, and Agrippa had successfully played his part. It would be a while before he took up arms again. He would stay in Rome for the remainder of 34 BCE and turn his attention to other pressing matters, which would test his talents in civilian organization and project management.

Commissioner of Public Works

Visitors to the leading city of the western world in the late first century BCE were often shocked by the shapeless sprawl of its streets, the ugliness of its towering tenement buildings and the state of neglect of many of its temples.¹⁷² Its filthy streets were often unsafe and its rickety buildings were frequently dangerous.¹⁷³ Damage from floods of the Tiber and fire added to the general sense of decay. Out of view below ground, the network of sewers, constructed centuries before when Rome was a small town, was in a poor state for lack of regular maintenance. Romans looked to their more affluent citizens to invest some part of their wealth in new infrastructure for the benefit of all in return for which they received the gratitude of the public and the recognition accruing from the publicity of having buildings and roads named after them. Euergetism was a hallmark of Roman society. Following Iulius Caesar's assassination the proscriptions had eliminated many of Rome's rich benefactors, and the civil war had drained resources away from Rome to far away battlefields leaving the fabric of the city dilapidated and in urgent need of repair. The heir to Caesar's legacy and his closest friend saw this as an opportunity to sway the voting public to their side by positioning themselves as benefactors to their city. It would prove to be a pivotal development in their political fortunes.

In the Roman political system, the maintenance of public works was the responsibility of a team of elected officials called aediles.¹⁷⁴ The name derived from the Latin word for temple (*aedes*) underscoring the importance Romans placed in maintaining the goodwill of the gods in public life at all times. There were six aediles: two pairs of Plebeian Aediles and *Cereales* – responsible for the corn supply – elected by the Popular Assembly, and a pair of Curule Aediles (*aediles curules*) elected by the Tribal Assembly. Aediles were elected in July, and took up office on the first day of January. In 34 Agrippa was likely elected to one of the Plebeian Aedile positions because by the end of the year he had already initiated work on one of the most important structures in the city.¹⁷⁵

The distribution of potable water was the lynchpin to managing Rome. Fresh water, noted for its coolness and purity from the Anio Valley some 91km (56 miles) away, was transported directly into the city over aqueducts. The longest of these in Agrippa's day was the

Aqua Marcia. It had been erected between the years 144–140 BCE by the then *praetor* Q. Marcius Rex and followed the route of the *Via Tiburtina*. Marcius had paid for it largely from the war spoils from sacking Carthage at the end of the Third Punic War.¹⁷⁶ It was a high profile structure which touched the lives of many citizens but ‘which had almost worn out’.¹⁷⁷ Restoring it to proper working order and providing new conduits from it to widen the distribution to more parts of the city to share its bounty with more people was an inspired choice of starting point for the new *aedile*.¹⁷⁸ When completed, the renovated *Aqua Marcia* (plate 15) supplied water to the Viminalis Hill in the north of Rome, and from there to the Caelian, Aventine, Palatine, and Capitoline regions of the city. New fountains, from which seemingly limitless pure cold water poured, began appearing in the city to the delight of its thirsty population.¹⁷⁸ So many were installed and so important had they become to life in Rome that after Agrippa’s death, the Senate issued a decree that the number ‘shall be neither increased nor diminished’ and the commissioners responsible for them ‘shall take pains that the public fountains may deliver water as continuously as possible for the use of the people day and night’.¹⁸⁰

The following year – the year of Caesar’s second consulship – Agrippa was elected *aedile* again and he immediately embarked on an even more ambitious programme of repairing other large urban infrastructure. Among them were the *Aqua Appia* and *Aqua Vetus*, which were now in urgent need of attention.¹⁸¹ But one important project was a new build, the *Aqua Iulia*. There is no suggestion that Agrippa was the architect. More likely, Agrippa applied his talent for assessing a problem, determining the solution, bringing together the required resources and then getting the work done. Writing in his technical treatise on aqueducts over a century later Sex. Iulius Frontinus explains that Agrippa:

took another independent source of supply, at the twelfth milestone from the City on the *Via Latina*, on a crossroad two miles to the right as you proceed from Rome, and also tapped Tepula. The name *Iulia* was given to the new aqueduct by its builder, but since the waters were again divided for distribution, the name Tepula remained.¹⁸²

The choice of official name was deliberate. Once again Agrippa

acknowledged the ascendancy of the *gens Iulia* as he had done at Lake Avernus.¹⁸³ It was suitably massive in scale:

The conduit of *Iulia* has a length of 15,426½ paces; 7,000 paces on masonry above ground, of which 528 paces next the City, beginning at the seventh milestone, are on substructures, the other 6,472 paces being on arches.¹⁸⁴

Agrippa paid great attention to the source of potable water to ensure it flowed evenly and without interruption, but with due regard to the needs of local people:

Past the intake of *Iulia* flows a brook, which is called Crabra. Agrippa refrained from taking in this brook either because he had condemned it, or because he thought it ought to be left to the proprietors at Tusculum, for this is the water which all the estates of that district receive in turn, dealt out to them on regular days and in regular quantities.¹⁸⁵

Frontinus recalls that when he became Commissioner of Aqueducts (*curator aquarum*) at Rome in 95 CE under the Emperor Nerva, he regretted that his own engineers did not show the same care and attention to detail as under its original management:

But our water-men, failing to practise the same restraint, have always claimed a part of it to supplement *Iulia*, not, however, thus increasing the actual flow of *Iulia*, since they habitually exhausted it by diverting its waters for their own profit. I therefore shut off the Crabra brook and at the emperor's command restored it entirely to the Tusculan proprietors, who now, possibly not without surprise, take its waters, without knowing to what cause to ascribe the unusual abundance. The *Aqua Iulia*, on the other hand, by reason of the destruction of the branch pipes through which it was secretly plundered, has maintained its normal quantity even in times of most extraordinary drought.¹⁸⁶

The *Aqua Iulia* was a brilliantly conceived and executed example of Roman hydraulic engineering design. A tall span of three great arches of the aqueduct and the encased channel above stands today near Tivoli.

Water quenched Rome's thirsty mouths but it also could be used to improve standards of public hygiene in the congested city. Pliny notes that 'in the work which he has written in commemoration of his aedileship, he also informs us that 170 gratuitous bathhouses were opened'.¹⁸⁷ There certainly were places in the city for bathing during the first century BCE – they were used by the élites, such as Cicero who listed bathing as one of the 'necessities for life and health' – but most of the squalid high-rise apartments that were homes to Rome's lowest classes lacked the most basic sanitation.¹⁸⁸ Agrippa's building programme revolutionized public hygiene by making bathing accessible to large numbers of poor urban people, both men and women, on a daily basis and free of charge.¹⁸⁹ His generosity may have actually spurred on the widespread adoption of bathing as a standard ritual of everyday life over the next century as Pliny writes that the number of bathhouses at Rome 'has increased to an infinite extent since his time'.¹⁹⁰ It was a theme Agrippa would return to later in his career. The enormous volume of water flowing from the fountains and baths would stress Rome's drains and many were crumbling and needed repair. These too received Agrippa's attention, and not content to take his surveyors' word at face value he even 'sailed through them underground into the Tiber' to inspect the work himself (fig. 2).¹⁹¹ Dio writes that by the end of 33 BCE Agrippa had 'repaired all the public buildings and all the streets, cleaned out the sewers'.¹⁹² Probably by design, he had overseen the largest social welfare improvement programme since the building of the city's first great sewer, the *Cloaca Maxima*, which according to tradition was constructed under the orders of the king of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus, around 600 BCE.¹⁹³

Improvements to the city's wellbeing extended to the visual aspects too. Agrippa was driven by a design ethos that public works for the benefit of the people must also look beautiful. Pliny the Elder wrote with admiration of how:

He also formed 700 wells, in addition to 500 fountains, and 130 reservoirs, many of them magnificently adorned. Upon these works, too, he erected 300 statues of marble or bronze, and 400 marble columns – and all this in the space of a single year!¹⁹⁴

Remarkable too was the fact that he completed these projects without any public funding.¹⁹⁵ Financially, Agrippa was by now a very wealthy man in his own right and could afford the expense from proceeds of confiscations under the proscriptions and the estates in Sicily and Illyricum, but additional funds were probably provided by Caesar. Administratively, Agrippa's unique systems approach to the provision, distribution and drainage of water set a new standard in city management. Frontinus notes:

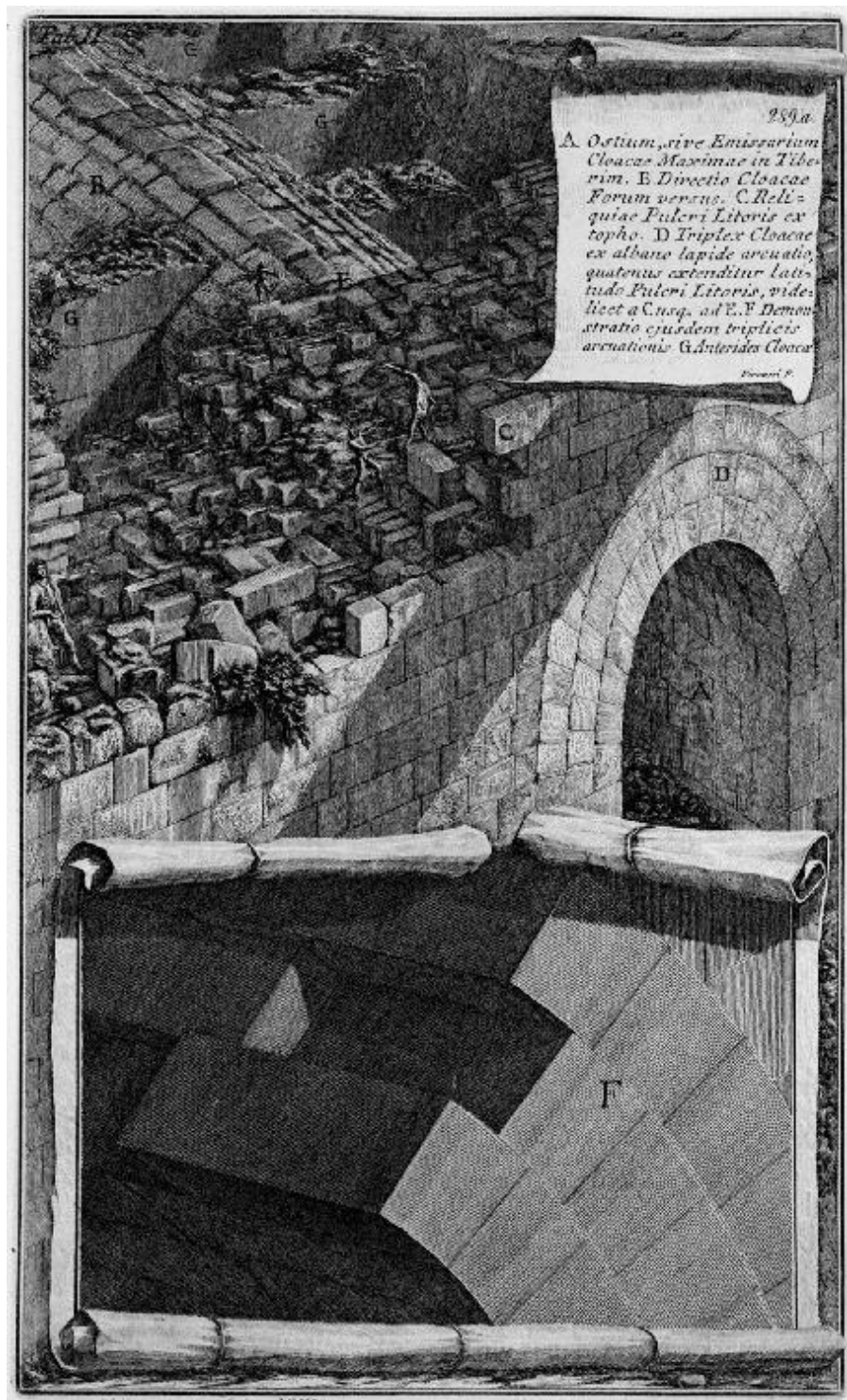


Figure 2. As aedile Agrippa undertook essential repairs to Rome's main sewer, the

Cloaca Maxima. It was closely studied by eighteenth century artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi for his book on Roman antiquities, and is still in operation today.

M. Agrippa, after his aedileship (which he held after his consulship) was the first man to become the permanent incumbent of this office, so to speak – a commissioner charged with the supervision of works which he himself had created. Inasmuch as the amount of water now available warranted it, he determined how much should be allotted to the public structures, how much to the basins, and how much to private parties. He also kept his own private gang of slaves for the maintenance of the aqueducts and reservoirs and basins.¹⁹⁶

As ‘curators of the city’ – in Cicero’s words – the duties of the aediles extended to maintaining public order, regulating public games and managing provisions.¹⁹⁷ The measures Agrippa implemented in this respect were clearly intended to be populist. Among many initiatives, he ‘drove the astrologers and charlatans from the city’, ‘distributed olive-oil and salt to all’, and during festivals, such as the equestrian Trojan Games (*Ludus Troiae*) ‘he hired the barbers, so that no one should be at any expense for their services’.¹⁹⁸ Perhaps dating to this time are the warehouses (*Horrea Agrippiana*) he established between the *Vicus Tuscus* and the *Circus Victoriae* to receive and store staple goods.¹⁹⁹

Agrippa made improvements to the *Circus Maximus* – recently expanded and improved to accommodate 260,000 seated spectators by Iulius Caesar.²⁰⁰ Chariot racing was a national passion. Like today’s Formula 1 or NASCAR its appeal was watching vehicles racing at high speed and the chance of witnessing spectacular crashes. Four-horse chariots (*quadrigae*) rushed out from cells at one end of the long course, raced anti-clockwise along the wall (*spina*) – which divided the space into an elongated oval sand-covered, one-way track – turned around at the other end and drove back down the other side; the winner was the first to complete seven laps.²⁰¹ Gambling on who would win was an essential part of a day at the races. Disputes often occurred when the number of laps was miscounted – an important matter when betting. Agrippa found a simple and ingenious solution. ‘Seeing that in the circus men made mistakes about the number of laps completed,’ writes Dio, ‘he set up the dolphins and egg-shaped objects [upon the *spina*], so that by their aid the number of times the course had been circled might be clearly shown.’²⁰²

Agrippa sponsored games in his own name lasting fifty-nine days, including the *Ludus Troiae* in which sons of senators performed manoeuvres on horseback – probably the most lavish since Iulius Caesar's own to celebrate his victories in Gaul and Egypt.²⁰³ The opportunity to win over such a large captive crowd was too good to pass up and, with the flair of a natural showman,

finally he rained upon the heads of the people in the theatre tickets that were good for money in one case, for cloths in another, and again for something else, and he also set out immense quantities of various wares for all comers and allowed the people to scramble for these things.²⁰⁴

The patrician class were also pandered to with the passing of a decree that no one from the senatorial class could be tried for piracy, while those already under such a charge were released from custody.²⁰⁵

Agrippa's personal popularity and prestige benefitted greatly from his two terms in office. Some, of course, could see through the overtly populist agenda intended to win over the people to the Caesarian faction. The poet Horace relating the words of Servius Oppidius on his deathbed to his sons, writes in 33 BCE:

Would you destroy your effects in [largesses of] peas, beans,
and lupines,
That you may stalk in the circus at large,
Or stand in a statue of brass,
Stripped of your paternal estate, stripped of your money, O
madman,
To the end, forsooth, that you may gain those applauses, which
Agrippa gains,
Like a cunning fox imitating a generous lion?²⁰⁶

As aedile, Agrippa had served his friend well beyond expectations; but a new period of uncertainty was about to begin. On 31 December 33 BCE the agreement between men of the Triumvirate expired. It was not renewed.²⁰⁷ With the people of Rome – regularly bathed, groomed and entertained – now standing with them, the Caesarians could turn their attention to removing their remaining opponent.

Chapter 4

Mastermind of Victory at Actium

32–31 BCE

The World Divided

While Caesar and Agrippa were working hard to bring order to the Balkans and winning over the hearts and minds of the Roman people at home, Antonius was fighting wars of his own in the East but intent on winning the heart of a single woman. Separated by distance and time, Caesar and Antonius continued their friendship through official correspondence with each other but shared private confidences by letter with their mutual friend, and Agrippa's father-in-law, Atticus.¹ They were still brothers-in-law, but their relationship, which had always been one of political convenience, had changed. Imperator Caesar was now ambitious for power for himself and 'desired to be chief, not merely of the city of Rome, but of the whole world'.² While Antonius was a free agent, Caesar's ambitions were crimped.

Since Brundisium, when the triumvirs had carved up the world between them, Antonius had subsumed himself in his exotic territory. He re-organized the provinces in Asia and Greece, and formed close relations with the many kingdoms and princedoms which were treaty allies of the Romans. Antonius was a natural networker. He was careful to court the favours of the client kings who ruled in the region. These included Bokchos (Bocchus), king of Libya, Tarkondimos (Tarcondemus), king of Upper Cilicia, Archelaos (Archelaüs) of Cappadocia, Philadelphos (Philadelphus) of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace, Polemon I of Pontus, Malchos (Malchus) of Arabia, Amyntas the king of Lycaonia and Galatia, and Herodes (Herod), king of the Jews.³ In return for his personal support, which might mean representing them at the Senate in Rome if a charge was brought or sending an army to help fend off an enemy, these client-kings were obligated to provide financial and military

assistance when Antonius, as the ranking Roman official, called for it. It was an arrangement which suited national leaders whose situation was often precarious without the backing of a major alliance partner – and it suited Rome which did not have to incur the overhead costs of occupying these territories.⁴

Herodes (Hordos in Hebrew) exemplified how a client king could rule with Roman support.⁵ He was the second son of Antipater I the Idumaeen, a high-ranking official employed by the leader (*ethnarches*) of Iudaea Hyrcanus II of the Hasmonaeen dynasty, who appointed him governor of Galilee when he was in his mid-twenties. After Iulius Caesar's assassination Antipater was forced to side with C. Cassius Longinus and against M. Antonius, however his pro-Roman politics led to him becoming increasingly unpopular among the devout, non-Hellenized Jews. Herodes' father was murdered by poisoning, and, with the backing of the Roman authorities, he hunted down and executed Antipater's murderer, quickly earning a deserved reputation for cruelty. After the Battle of Philippi Herodes, then 31-years-old, took a chance by showing personal support for the victors and by so doing he gained the support of Antonius. When the *triumvir* marched into Asia, he appointed Herodes tetrarch of Galilee, one of the two administrative districts of Iudaea. In 40 or 39 BCE, with the help of the Parthians, Antigonos II Mattathias (son of King Aristobulus II) took the throne from his uncle Hyrcanus II by force, hoping to establish an independent Jewish state. Seeking the help of his Roman sponsor to restore his position, Herodes sailed west in a hurry to Brundisium and travelled on to Rome.⁶ With the support of Caesar and Antonius he addressed the Senate, arguing that Antigonos was the real enemy and convinced the Conscript Fathers to recognize him, a loyal friend of the Romans, as legitimate king (*ethnarch*) of the Jews.⁷ After returning to his country and winning a brutal three year war, Herodes reclaimed his seat and became sole ruler of Iudaea.⁸ Captured by force, Antigonos was hauled away in chains and sent to Antonius along with cash and treasure confiscated from the supporters of the Parthian's puppet.⁹ Herodes had demonstrated that he knew who his friends were.

Sex. Pompeius was not so fortunate. He had fled and sought asylum with Antonius in 35 BCE. On landing in Miletos in Anatolia he was arrested. Perhaps acting on direct orders from Antonius or

Munatius Plancus, his deputy M. Titius had him killed.¹⁰ His execution was an illegal act as all Roman citizens were entitled to a trial, and whether or not Antonius was behind it – the ancient historians are split on whether he was – the matter would come to haunt him later.¹¹

To his core, Antonius was a soldier – and a proud one. It was said he believed that there would be no better death for him than that by battle.¹² As governor general in the East he sought to settle an old score. He conceived a military campaign against Rome's nemesis Parthia. It was motivated by a desire to restore national honour after Crassus' humiliating defeat at Carrhae in 53 BCE by Orodes II, and the Parthian incursions led by the quisling Q. Labienus on behalf of King Pacorus I in 40 BCE. After two years Antonius had assembled an army of his own troops supplemented by men and materiel from client kings and allies. At the start of his campaign he had 60,000 Roman infantry, together with 10,000 Celtiberian cavalry, and 30,000 assorted soldiers counting alike horsemen and light-armed troops from allies.¹³ Yet he complained that he was still short of the troops he had been promised by Caesar in return for the ships he had provided for the Sicilian War against Sex. Pompeius. Antonius would have to bolster his numbers by calling on Rome's sole ally in the region. North of the Parthian province of Mesopotamia lay the great state of Armenia ruled by Artavasdes II, son of Tigranes the Great. Artavasdes II had been an ally of the Romans, but when they were defeated at Carrhae, he was forced to switch sides. Seeing an opportunity to free himself of Parthian obligations, he now switched sides again, this time allying himself with Antonius. On the advice of Artavasdes II of Armenia, Antonius planned to invade Parthia from the north – not from the west – by invading the Parthian client kingdom to the east of Armenia called Media Atropatene. Bordering on the Caspian Sea, it was ruled by Artavasdes I – no relation to the Armenian – and the loyal ally of the Parthian king, Phraates IV. Antonius' decision was fateful. His advance with thirteen legions reached Phraaspa, the strongly fortified capital of Media Atropatene.¹⁴ According to Plutarch, the siege engines, which required 300 wagons to transport them, as well as a giant battering ram he would need to capture walled cities, he decided to leave behind – according to Velleius Paterculus, he lost two legions and their siege equipment to the Parthians.¹⁵ There his campaign

halted. Unable to take Phraaspa, Antonius now found himself exposed on the plain outside the city. The Parthians soon came to the aid of Artavases holed up in his city.¹⁶ They attacked Antonius' supply train and, when rations were cut, his own soldiers mutinied. His fair-weather ally, Artavasdes I of Armenia, deserted him. Undaunted, in October that year Antonius demanded that the Parthians return the eagle standards and the Roman prisoners they had taken. The Parthians refused and replied that they would only permit him to leave the region unmolested. Without leverage, Antonius could do no more than accept the terms and ordered his army to head back to Syria. Before departing, he received a tip-off that he should expect an ambush and to avoid it he decided to take a route over the mountains. He was pursued by the Parthians and through twenty-five brutally harsh days Antonius struggled to lead his men to safety – Livy says he covered 450km (300 miles) in just twenty-one days.¹⁷ After withering attacks he finally reached Antiocheia on the Orontes in Syria. The failed campaign had come at terrible cost: 20,000 of the infantry and 4,000 of the cavalry had perished, not all at the hands of the enemy, but more than half by disease.¹⁸ They had, indeed, marched twenty-seven days from Phraaspa, and had defeated the Parthians in eighteen battles, but their victories were not complete or lasting because the missions they had pursued were ineffectual and short-term in outlook.

The following year Octavia brought from Italy several cohorts of cavalry to Greece to assist her husband, but at Athens she was told to proceed no further and remain there.¹⁹ Octavia understood completely what was afoot, and despite the personal hurt it caused her, nevertheless wrote to Antonius asking which of the many things she had with her should she bring to him. Anticipating her husband's needs she was bringing clothing for his soldiers, pack animals, money and gifts for the officers and his friends, and in addition, 2,000 hand-picked, fully equipped men of the Praetorian Cohorts.²⁰ Antonius' political and romantic interests, however, now lay in Alexandria. A key financial backer of his wars was Queen Kleopatra of Egypt. He had met her for the first time in 47 BCE when Iulius Caesar backed her claim and, after the Alexandrine War, put the then 22-year-old woman on the throne. Caesar was famously seduced by her sensual charms and sharp intellect and she bore him a son she named Caesarion. In 41 BCE Antonius had summoned the queen to be with

him at Tarsus. ‘And when she arrived,’ writes Plutarch, ‘he made her a present of no slight or insignificant addition to her dominions, namely, Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, and a large part of Cilicia; and still further, the balsam-producing part of Iudaea, and all that part of Arabia Nabataea which slopes toward the outer sea’.²¹ He joined her in Egypt later that year. The two eloped and a romance blossomed between the couple – and soon there were children. Despite being married to Caesar’s own sister Octavia, Antonius proceeded to marry Kleopatra in 36 BCE. His reason for doing so was to legitimize his children by the queen, the twins Alexander Helios and Kleopatra Selene; but it seemed to some observers that he was creating a new, rival empire to Rome’s, encompassing Egypt, Asia, Greece and the Near East.

Unfazed by his military setback, Antonius raised a new army. Failing to find willing Italian-born citizen recruits, he changed the enrollment rules, offering citizenship to any male willing to serve in his ranks and succeeded in creating five new legions. Antonius was elected consul with L. Scribonius Libo for 34 BCE, resigning it on the same day. He headed north and re-invaded Armenia as revenge for what he saw as Artavasdes’ treachery.²² Under the pretence of marching to war against Parthia, he arrived at the Armenian capital Artaxata and deposed the king.²³ The Armenians resisted and elected the king’s son Artaxes. Antonius refused to accept the choice of new regent, arrested him and installed Artaxias, his half-brother, under the control of Canidius Cassius’ and a large contingent of Roman troops.²⁴ Elated by his success, Antonius headed back to Alexandria where he celebrated a triumphal parade. It was the first to be held outside Rome and was seen by many at home as both against the laws of Romans and of Jove. Artavasdes and his family were among the trophies exhibited in the lavish spectacle in which Antonius dressed as Dionysos, wearing an ivy wreath upon his head, a gaudy saffron robe of gold and clasping a *thyrsus* (the sacred wand of the god) while Kleopatra accompanied him in the guise of Isis.²⁵

Controversially, a few days after the parade, Antonius reassigned several of the Roman protectorates in the East to members of his new family in what became known as the Donations of Alexandria.²⁶ It is reported that ‘he used to say that the greatness of the Roman empire was made manifest, not by what the Romans received, but by what

they bestowed; and that noble families were extended by the successive begettings of many kings'.²⁷ He added, 'in this way, at any rate, his own progenitor was begotten by Herakles, who did not confine his succession to a single womb, nor stand in awe of laws like Solon's for the regulation of conception, but gave free course to nature, and left behind him the beginnings and foundations of many families'.²⁸ The distributions of land were accompanied by an excessive spectacle of lavish sets and flamboyant costumes.²⁹ The 13-year-old Caesarion, now bearing the majestic Egyptian name Ptolemaeus XIV Philopator Philomētor Caesar, was recognized as co-regent of Egypt and Iulius Caesar's legitimate son and heir.³⁰ Cyprus, Coele-Syria and Libya were given to the pharaohs, while Armenia, Media (following its annexation) and Parthia reaching as far as India were created as new realms for Kleopatra's eldest son, the 6-year-old Alexander Helios. His twin sister, Kleopatra Selene, received Crete and Cyrenaica. To the youngest son, the 2-year-old Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, was granted Cilicia, Phoenecia and Syria. Antonius was within his legal remit to make such settlements as these were not fully-fledged Roman provinces.³¹ Indeed, he sent official documents for the transfers to the Senate in Rome to ratify his decision. The response there was consternation. 'He was hated, too,' writes Plutarch, 'for the distribution which he made to his children in Alexandria; it was seen to be theatrical and arrogant, and to evince hatred of Rome.'³² His recognition of Caesarion as 'King of Kings' and as Iulius Caesar's true heir by blood, however, was seemingly calculated to antagonize one man in particular: his former co-*triumvir* and the man claiming to be 'Son of the Divine Iulius'.

The timing and presentation of the request were poor – and it played right into Caesar's hands.³³ He used the material to present Antonius as a drunken, debauched playboy who was failing to live up to the high standards expected of a Roman proconsul. From his lodgings in Alexandria Antonius hit back at the accusations with charges of his own.³⁴ Caesar had not given him his share of Sicily after it had been taken from Sex. Pompeius. Caesar had not returned the ships he had been loaned. Caesar had kept Lepidus' army for himself, along with the territory and cash it generated. And his allotments of land to the veterans had excluded his troops. Imperator Caesar shot back a barbed retort that:

he had deposed Lepidus from office because he was abusing it, and as for what he had acquired in war, he would share it with Antonius whenever Antonius, on his part, should share Armenia with him; and Antonius' soldiers had no claim upon Italy, since they had Media and Persia, which countries they had added to the Roman dominion by their noble struggles under their *imperator*.³⁵

It was hard to see how the two men could now be reconciled.

In the spring of 33 BCE, while Caesar was campaigning in Illyricum and Agrippa was supervising miracles of hydraulic engineering in Rome, Antonius returned to Roman-controlled Armenia. He had learned that King Artavasdes of Media Atropatene had quarrelled with his Parthian neighbour.³⁶ The rift provided Antonius with the unexpected, but timely, opportunity for an alliance. Antonius marched to the Araxes (Aras) River. A treaty was signed to the satisfaction of both sides, in which each would come to the support of the other in time of need. To bind the two men together, the king's daughter, Iotape, was betrothed to Antonius' son, Alexander Helios.³⁷ To Polemon I of Pontus, a client king – whose father Zenon had encouraged the local people to resist Q. Labienus and King Pacorus I of Parthia when their armies invaded Syria and Anatolia – he gave orders to police the Roman frontier with Parthia.³⁸ Antonius' attention was turning westwards. A war between the two strong men of the Roman world, and one which would decide its fate, was now inevitable. With the eastern border at peace – even if fragile – in November Antonius ordered his deputy P. Canidius Crassus to withdraw the sixteen legions from Armenia and march to the coast in preparation for the coming conflict with Caesar.³⁹

Antonius sailed with Kleopatra – now his greatest sponsor, providing him men, horses and ships – to Ephesus for 'it was there that his naval force was coming together from all quarters, 800 ships of war with merchant vessels, of which Kleopatra furnished 200, besides 20,000 talents, and supplies for the whole army during the war'.⁴⁰ In the arms race for the coming civil war, Antonius was far ahead of Caesar. Without having made adequate preparations and lacking many essential supplies, Imperator Caesar feared being forced to fight that summer.⁴¹ To raise cash needed to pay for the men and

matériel he needed he compelled the citizens to pay a quarter of their income and the freedmen one eighth of their property. Both classes protested vehemently against Caesar. Riots broke out across Italy. He now risked losing the political capital he and Agrippa had so carefully built up over the previous two years. Then, quite unexpectedly, Antonius failed to make the first move. With the benefit of hindsight, ‘among the greatest mistakes of Antonius, men reckon his postponement of the war,’ writes Plutarch, ‘for it gave Caesar time to make preparations and put an end to the disturbances among the people’.⁴² There were defections among Antonius’ friends too. Claiming that he had been coldly treated by Antonius on account of unmistakable evidence of his venal rapacity, proconsul L. Munatius Plancus switched sides and brought with him slanderous gossip that Caesar was quick to broadcast; he was soon joined by his uncle M. Titius.⁴³ They informed him of the contents of Antonius’ will and testament. Though supposedly held in the care of the Vestal Virgins, who were sworn to keep it secret until Antonius’ death, by some means fair or foul Caesar managed to get a copy – or convinced those that needed to be that he had one. He studied it, identified its most damning clauses, and brought them before the Senate.⁴⁴ To the sober Conscript Fathers Antonius was revealed to be subservient to the queen. They were told how he had rubbed her feet at a banquet in full view of the guests. He had abandoned a court case mid-trial to wander off and join her entourage. He had lavished expensive gifts on her, including the Library at Pergamum and its collection of 200,000 books. Most shocking was the stipulation that after a public funeral in the *Forum* at Rome, his body should be returned to Kleopatra for burial in Egypt.⁴⁵ Other truths, half-truths, rumours and falsehoods from second and third-hand sources were woven into the oration to show how Antonius had allowed himself to shamefully pander to his Egyptian mistress – he had become ‘a captive to his love for Kleopatra’, in Florus’ words – and to neglect his duties as an official of the Roman state.⁴⁶ Scandalous was that Antonius already had a Roman wife – and not any woman, but the sister of his fellow *triumvir*.

The two *triumvirs* accused each other openly and publicly. Antonius repeated his charges that Caesar had removed Lepidus unlawfully, and the territory and troops taken from the former *triumvir*, as well as the troops he had confiscated from Sex. Pompeius,

which should have been shared between them, and he demanded his half.⁴⁷ Caesar retorted that Antonius was holding Egypt and the other nations without due process of assigning them by lot, that he had killed Sextus – whom he himself had willingly spared – and the way he had treated the king of Armenia had brought the dignity of the Roman People into disrepute.⁴⁸ Then he demanded half the spoils of war. Above all he reproached him for the children he had sired with Kleopatra, the gifts he had lavished upon them, and particular, because he was calling the boy Caesarion and bringing him into the family of Caesar.⁴⁹

Yet, Antonius still had supporters in Rome, and crucially many were in the Senate. On New Year's Day 32 BCE the new consuls, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Sosius, stood steadfast with their maligned friend; but while Ahenobarbus refrained from speaking out against Caesar, Sosius made a very personal attack against him.⁵⁰ Caesar, however, was not there to hear them. Fully expecting the accusations, he had wisely stayed away from Rome with Agrippa at his side. When the resulting unfavourable legislation limiting Caesar's powers finally came up for the vote, he quietly arranged for the sympathetic tribune Nonius Balbus to veto it.⁵¹ Returning to the city, Emperor Caesar convened the Senate and surrounded himself menacingly with loyal troops who wore concealed daggers; their hobnailed *caligae* revealed them as military.⁵² He sat himself provocatively on an official chair with the consuls. Caesar then proceeded to defend his actions at length, but in moderate language, and to bring accusations against Antonius and Sosius, promising at the next meeting of the Senate to produce documents which would irrefutably support his allegations against them.⁵³ Caesar declared that anyone feeling insecure in the city was at complete liberty to leave and join Antonius.⁵⁴ Many took the cue. This was the moment a large contingent of Antonius' supporters left – some 200 of the 900 senators fled Rome for the perceived safety of the Egyptian capital to join their leader. Ahenobarbus and Sosius were among them.⁵⁵ Caesar promptly replaced them with two suffect consuls, L. Cornelius Cinna and M. Valerius Messalla, both sympathetic to his cause.⁵⁶ While the exiles assembled and declared themselves the legitimate Senate, things did not all go Antonius' way. On Samos, he and his Egyptian consort received an assembly of client kings, among them Herodes. Another

unexpected guest was Artavasdes of Media Atropatene. It transpired that having withdrawn the legions from neighbouring Armenia, there were no Roman troops available to save him from an attack by Phraates (Frahâta) IV.⁵⁷ Ousted from his own kingdom, he sought sanctuary with Antonius on the Greek island.

During the summer of that year Antonius finally – and unceremoniously – divorced Octavia.⁵⁸ His callousness contrasted with her consideration. Even as his agents presented the letter demanding that she leave his house in Rome, ‘she was in tears of distress that she herself also would be regarded as one of the causes of the war’.⁵⁹ Again, he had misjudged the mood of the Roman people. They ‘felt pity for Antonius, not for her, and especially those who had seen Kleopatra and knew that neither in youthfulness nor beauty was she superior to Octavia.’⁶⁰ A dutiful Roman lady, she left the *domus Antonia* taking all his children with her except M. Antonius Antyllus, his eldest son by Fulvia, who was already with his father. When Antonius and Kleopatra arrived in Athens he insisted that his new wife should receive the same honours Octavia had been accorded. Whenever she spoke, he listened, agreeing with her on many important matters, even against his own instinct and better judgment.⁶¹ If he had thought there would be strength in numbers, with the Egyptian regent present among them, relations between his Roman supporters soon became strained. When Antonius proposed to attack Italy, she persuaded him not to, but in doing so he upset several of the senators in exile and many of his officers too.

The Actian War

Imperator Caesar was now ready to do battle; Agrippa awaited his orders. Due process required that a formal declaration of war had to be agreed in the Roman Senate and ratified by the Popular Assembly. Caesar was extremely careful to position the coming struggle, not as a fight against the wayward Roman, but as a war against the foreign seductress. In the latter part of 32 BCE ‘a vote was passed to wage war against Kleopatra, and to take away from Antonius the authority which he had surrendered to a woman’.⁶² This last point about her gender was very important: *she* had publicly humiliated a Roman. To stress the culpability of the Egyptian, he added ‘that Antonius had been drugged and was not even master of himself, and that the

Romans were carrying on war with Mardion the eunuch, and Potheinus, and Iras, and the tire-woman of Kleopatra, and Charmion, by whom the principal affairs of the government were managed'.⁶³ The Egyptian queen had demanded the Roman Empire from the besotted, drunken commander as payment for her favours.⁶⁴ To lend gravity to the declaration, Caesar invoked the ancient rite of declaring war in which a fetial priest struck a spear into a patch of ground regarded as token foreign soil at the Temple of Bellona – doing it there saved on the time and expense of delivering the message to the queen in person.⁶⁵ 'These proceedings,' writes Dio, 'were nominally directed against Kleopatra, but really against Antonius.'⁶⁶ According to Caesar's own account, this year, to bind the nation all of the communities of Italy were required to take an oath of loyalty (*Iuratio Italiae*) to him – all except Antonius' hereditary family clients living in Bononia.⁶⁷ The Actian War (*Bellum Actiense*) had begun.

While the Roman world fractured in two halves as men were forced to pick sides, Agrippa's own family suffered a deep rent that year. His father-in-law, T. Pomponius Atticus, had had no serious illness for the last three decades.⁶⁸ Now 77-years-old, he had developed an intestinal condition his doctors could not identify, even after 'a putrid ulcer broke out through his loins'.⁶⁹ He urgently sent for Agrippa to be at his side at his house in Rome, along with L. Cornelius Balbus and Sex. Peducaeus. He explained to them that, seeing no possibility for recovery, he could no longer continue if it meant living with the excruciating pain which daily grew worse.⁷⁰ He had decided to end his life through starvation. Cornelius Nepos describes Agrippa's reaction to the news:

Having delivered this address with so much steadiness of voice and countenance, that he seemed to be removing, not out of life, but out of one house into another – when Agrippa, weeping over him and kissing him, entreated and conjured him 'not to accelerate that which nature herself would bring, and, since he might live some time longer, to preserve his life for himself and his friends' – he put a stop to his prayers, by an obstinate silence.⁷¹

After stubbornly refusing food for two days, the fever broke. Apparently showing signs of recovery, Atticus nevertheless continued

his fast for three more days. On 31 March 32 BCE he died.⁷² Though wealthy, his funeral was modest. ‘His body was carried out of his house on a small couch, as he himself had directed,’ writes Cornelius Nepos, ‘without any funereal pomp, all the respectable portion of the people attending, and a vast crowd of the populace.’⁷³ His ashes were placed in the sepulchre of his uncle Q. Caecilius on the *Via Appia* at the fifth milestone from the city. Agrippa had lost a much loved relation, a well-connected friend and a wise confidant.

Setting personal grief aside, Agrippa now took on the most important military leadership role of his life. In the closing months of 32 BCE Caesar placed Agrippa in charge of all military operations.⁷⁴ News had arrived that Antonius had stationed his troops in many towns and shore forts along the western coast of Greece as far as *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* (modern Corinth), and moved his fleet and land army to Kerkyra (Corfu) – the westernmost Greek island.⁷⁵ The move could have been defensive, but just as likely it suggests Antonius still had the intention of a surprise invasion of Italy before his opponent could respond, despite Kleopatra having already rejected the idea. Antonius represented a clear and present threat. Agrippa immediately despatched a small flotilla across the Adriatic Sea to reconnoitre Antonius’ forces ([map 7](#)). It seems Agrippa was spotted first. Off the Caraunian Mountains Antonius’ scouts spied the arrival of Agrippa’s ships. Thinking these were the vanguard of Caesar’s main fleet, Antonius advanced no further, but decided to return to the Peloponnese, setting up his winter quarters at Patrae (modern Patras).⁷⁶ Orosius states that Agrippa captured Kerkyra and ‘then pursued and routed the fugitives in a naval battle, and finally, after accomplishing many acts of the utmost cruelty, came back to Caesar’.⁷⁷

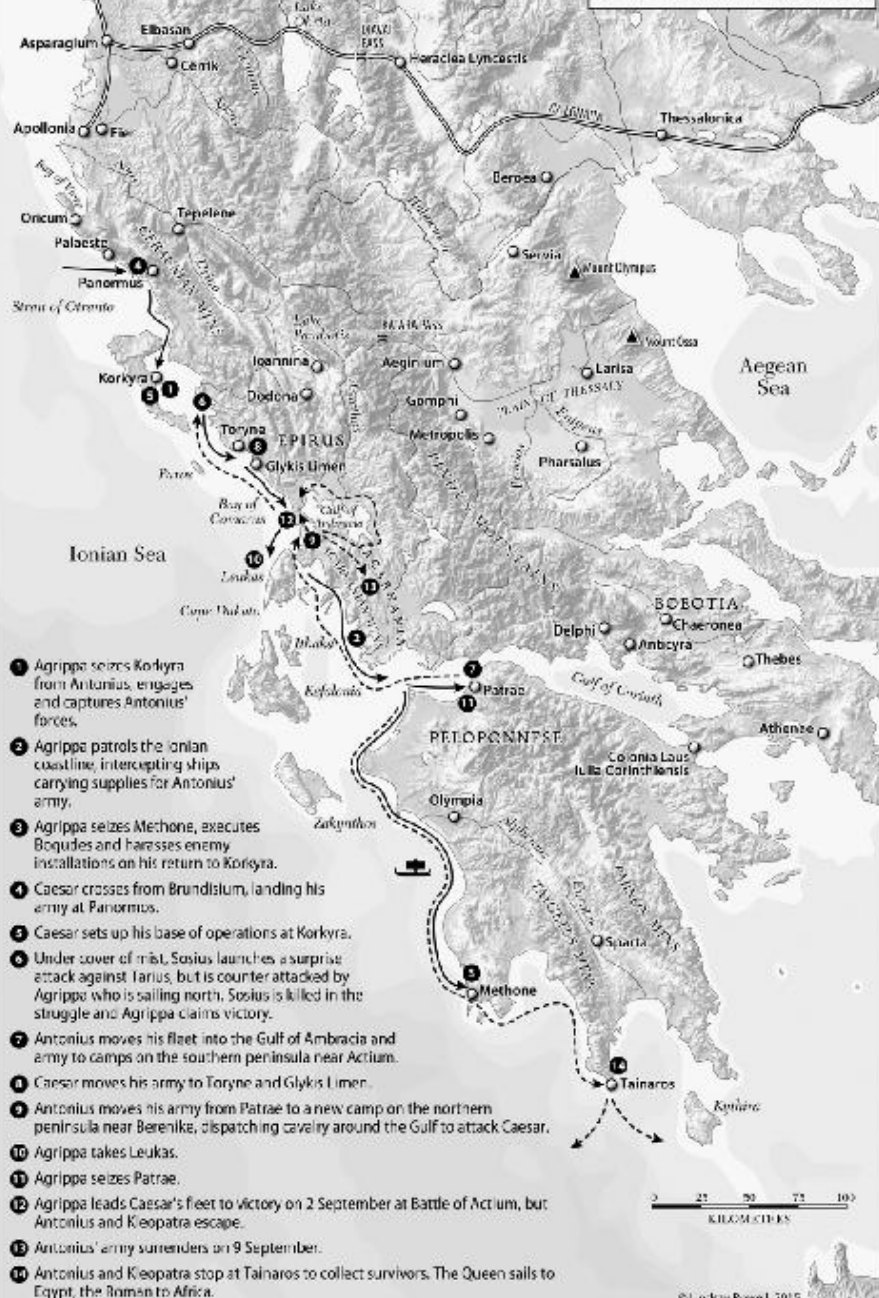
Over the ensuing months Agrippa aggressively patrolled the Ionian Sea for prey and successfully intercepted many slow moving transports bringing Antonius foodstuffs and munitions from Asia, Egypt and Syria and captured or sank them.⁷⁸ He landed an army at Methone (modern Methoni), a coastal town with strong defences built in the fourth century BCE on the southwestern-most tip of the Peloponnese. In charge of the stronghold was one of Antonius’ allies, Bogudes, king of Mauretania. In a surprise attack Agrippa laid siege, the place soon fell and he had Bogudes executed.⁷⁹ Another of

Antonius' bases on the Peloponnese taken out of the war, Agrippa headed north again, looking out for merchant ships on the way and raiding Greek coastal settlements at will – all of which disturbed Antonius greatly.⁸⁰

The news of Agrippa's successful hunter strategy, of course, greatly heartened Caesar. Leaving Rome in the care of his trusted representative Maecenas, he relocated to Brundisium where he gathered together his supporters to impress upon them that he had the largest and strongest constituency among the Romans sympathetic to his cause.⁸¹ Caesar had assembled the bulk of his army and navy at Brundisium and Tarentum, and in the spring of 31 BCE they crossed the Adriatic Sea to Kerkyra unopposed – he intended to reach Actium, but a storm blew up preventing him from landing there.⁸² Having regrouped, Caesar gave the order for his main force and his supporters to make the sea crossing to Actium where he hoped to capture Antonius' fleet.⁸³ *En route*, finding Korkyra to be abandoned, he occupied the city, anchoring his ships in the Fresh Water Harbour, and made it the base of his own naval operations. From it, Caesar launched reconnaissance missions.⁸⁴

THE ACTIAN WAR IN THE BALKANS, 31 BC

— Agrippa / Caesar's forces
- - - Antonius and Kleopatra's forces



0 25 50 75 100
KILOMETERS

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Map 7. The Actian War, 31 BCE.

Meanwhile, Agrippa struck Antonius' forces wherever he found them, at sea or on land. In effect he had adopted the same military strategy Sex. Pompeius had so successfully executed to harass the communities of the Italian coast just a few years before. Using his swift fleet and battle-hardened marines he attacked Antonius' garrisons and supply lines along the coastline of the Peloponnese. It is unlikely Agrippa held on to the captured targets for long: the objective seems to have been to degrade Antonius' military assets, cause maximum disruption to his logistics and grind down the morale of troops and allies. Dio describes one of the chance naval encounters:

In the meantime a naval battle occurred. L. Tarius, it seems, was anchored with a few ships opposite Sosius, who hoped to achieve a notable success by attacking him before the arrival of Agrippa, to whom the whole fleet had been entrusted. Accordingly, Sosius waited for a thick mist, so that Tarius should not beforehand because aware of his numbers and flee, and suddenly sailed out just before dawn and immediately at the first assault routed his opponent and pursued him, but failed to capture him; for Agrippa by chance met Sosius on the way, so that he not only gained nothing from the victory, but perished, together with Tarcondimotus and many others.⁸⁵

Antonius' men seemed quite incapable of rallying a strong defence whenever Caesar's general landed on the shore, apparently out of nowhere.

In preparation for a final, decisive battle in the spring Antonius had moved his fleet into the shallow waters of the Gulf of Ambracia, establishing a camp for his army to guard it on the southern peninsula facing the unpredictable Ionian Sea near a small hamlet called Aktio (Actium).⁸⁶ Measuring about 40km (25 miles) long and 15km (9 miles) wide, the Gulf of Ambracia must have first seemed to Antonius as a safe harbour for his and Kleopatra's fleet; but as the months passed it became increasingly apparent that their ships were becoming trapped inside.⁸⁷ Its narrow entrance to the Ionian Sea – a 700m wide channel between Actium on the south and Berenike (modern Berenikea) on the north – formed a natural bottleneck which Caesar's ships could now blockade. The southern promontory projected northwards – like a spike – into the channel formed by the curve of

the opposite shore. Antonius had already taken the prime position on the southern promontory and established his army camp close to Actium, a place sacred to the god Apollo.⁸⁸ He had erected watchtowers on each side of the spur of land at the entrances of the channel and stationed ships in between to patrol it.⁸⁹ Antonius may have expected to come to battle with Caesar earlier in the year. He installed his men 'on the farther side of the narrows, beside the sanctuary [of Apollo], in a level and broad space', but its disadvantages as a long-term base of operations soon revealed themselves; the site 'was more suitable as a place for fighting than for encamping; it was because of this fact more than any other that they suffered severely from disease, not only during the winter, but much more during the summer'.⁹⁰ Even today the shoreline is broken up by numerous marshes, which form an estuary system. Malaria and dysentery are two diseases suspected of afflicting his troops. Agrippa's successful raids on Antonius' supply ships denied Antonius' men much needed fresh food. The morale of the ordinary men, which had been high at the start of the year, sank as the heat rose and their living conditions worsened.⁹¹ Nevertheless, Antonius still held on to the Gulf of Corinth and employed the steward, the freedman Theophilus, in the city to receive grain from parts of Greece which were still loyal to him, and relay them to Anticyra across the Gulf on the coast of Boeotia, while under the close supervision of officers and men under his orders.⁹²

News reached Antonius that the consulship he expected to receive on 1 January 31 BCE was denied him and, instead, Caesar was sworn in with M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus.⁹³ He was now a private citizen without legal authority to act in the name of Rome. In a snub to the Senate Antonius used the title of consul anyway.

Arriving from Korkyra in June or July, Imperator Caesar *Divi filius* landed his troops on the shores of Epirus 'and took up a position on high ground there from which there is a view over all the outer sea around the Paxos islands and over the inner – Ambracian – gulf, as well as over the intervening waters'.⁹⁴ He quickly fortified his position, constructing walls from it down to Gomarus, the outer harbour.⁹⁵ In keeping with this defensive posture, rather than run the gauntlet and sailing his ships through the channel to the Gulf, Dio reports that Caesar had many of his triremes dragged over land,

using newly flayed hides smeared with olive oil instead of runways, yet I am unable to name any exploit of these ships inside the Gulf and therefore cannot believe the tradition; for it certainly would have been no small task to draw triremes over so narrow and uneven a tract of land on hides. Nevertheless, this feat is said to have been accomplished in the manner described.⁹⁶

Caesar's men, who enjoyed clean water from the nearby springs and Louros River and fresh provisions from Italy, were in good health and high spirits.⁹⁷

Agrippa joined Caesar and together the men worked on their campaign strategy. They knew this was their chance to deal a devastating blow to Antonius. Antonius realized it too. To tip the odds in his favour, he moved some of his troops across the strait and set up a camp directly facing his opponent while his cavalry rode around the Gulf to attack Caesar from the east.⁹⁸ His men harried Caesar's as they dug their fortifications of a ditch, palisade and watchtowers. The particular target of his attack was Caesar's valuable supply of fresh water. Plutarch reports that Antonius was also thought to have shown great skill in enclosing sources of potable water behind secure barriers to deprive the enemy of it, since there were few places to find it and the ones there were tasted bad.⁹⁹ In response, Caesar despatched some troops into mainland Greece and Macedonia with the intention of drawing Antonius away.¹⁰⁰ Indeed he enjoyed some success when M. Titius and Statilius Taurus made a sudden charge on Antonius' cavalry, defeated it and won over Philadelphos, king of Paphlagonia.¹⁰¹

Antonius' tactical move, however, meant that his troops were now split on both sides of the Gulf. Agrippa took this opportunity to make 'a sudden dash with his fleet'.¹⁰² With Antonius' navy effectively trapped in the Gulf of Ambracia, Agrippa's ships were largely free to roam the adjacent Gulf of Corinth and sail down the western coast of the Peloponnese. There they harassed their adversary's men and sank his warships and grain transports. It seems, at least to judge by his successes, that Agrippa relished the assignment. With his flotilla and troop of marines he was very effective at hit and run missions. Many of the targets were of high strategic value, which Antonius could ill

afford to lose. 'Finally, right before the eyes of Antonius and his fleet', writes Velleius Paterculus, 'Agrippa had stormed Leucas (Levkas)' (where he captured numbers of enemy ships), 'had taken Patrae' (conquering Q. Nasidius in a sea-fight), 'seized Corinthus' (a strategically important city), 'and before the final conflict had twice defeated the fleet of the enemy'.¹⁰³ The island of Leucas, laying south of Actium, was a significant win for Agrippa. With vessels stationed there and in the Bay of Gomaros to the north, he could effectively run a blockade and attack any ships of Antonius' fleet attempting to enter or leave the strait.

On land, Caesar tried to provoke Antonius to fight. In Dio's account he would not engage:

Caesar constantly drew up his infantry in battle order in front of the enemy's camp, often sailed against them with his ships and carried off their transports, with the object of joining battle with only such as were then present, before Antonius' entire command should assemble. For this very reason the latter was unwilling to stake his all on the cast, and he had recourse for select days to feeling out his enemy and to skirmish until he had gathered his legions.¹⁰⁴

Orosius' report presents a very different picture in which 'Antonius decided to hasten the beginning of the battle', but 'after quickly drawing up his troops, he advanced toward Caesar's camp but suffered defeat'.¹⁰⁵ Failing to make any significant impact on his opponent, three days later Antonius evacuated his second camp on the Epirot side of the Gulf and withdrew under the cover of night to his main base near Actium.¹⁰⁶

In Antonius' headquarters the presence of Kleopatra seemed more to hinder than to help him. In the wake of these military reverses and dwindling grain supplies, Antonius called a council of war. According to Dio, the Egyptian queen – allegedly unsettled by bad auguries – won the day with her advice that they should entrust the best strategic positions to garrisons, and that the rest should depart to Egypt with herself and Antonius.¹⁰⁷ Her fears affected Antonius, who began to suspect everyone else who remained of scheming against him: among many, he tortured and put to death Iamblichus, king of a tribe of the Arabians, and handed over senator Q. Postumius to be ripped apart.¹⁰⁸

As the last days of August counted down, Antonius suffered several high profile defections, among them the client kings of Galatia Amyntas of Galatia, who had been sent into Macedonia and Thrace to recruit mercenaries, and Deiotaros (Deiotarus); and the Romans Domitius Ahenobarbus, smarting from unrelenting abuse by the queen, and Q. Dellius.¹⁰⁹ A practical man of many years' military experience and consul of 32 BCE, Ahenobarbus was a loyal friend of Antonius, fighting with him in Armenia, but even he could no longer stand having his advice and recommendations overruled by the woman from Egypt.¹¹⁰ He sneaked out of the camp and slipped over the channel where he presented himself to Caesar. Deeply upset by the betrayal, nevertheless Antonius respected the man and had his personal effects and slaves sent over in another boat.

The Battle of Actium

For months the adversaries had played a high-stakes waiting game. 'The two leaders neither were dismayed nor relaxed in their preparations for war,' writes Dio, 'but spent the winter in spying upon and annoying each other.'¹¹¹ Yet this stalemate could not last indefinitely. It served neither side's interests to drag the war out through another winter. Both needed a resolution to the conflict. Caesar and Agrippa were fully intent on ending the conflict at Actium. With their opponent holed up in the Gulf of Ambracia here was an opportunity either to inflict a crushing military defeat, or at a minimum to leverage their position to negotiate a diplomatic settlement. According to Dio's account, Caesar's plan was to let his adversaries sail out of the strait and then to chase after them with his swifter fleet to capture Antonius and Kleopatra without bloodshed.¹¹² It was Agrippa who feared their opponents would flee under sail and get away.¹¹³ On the basis of his admiral's advice Caesar withdrew his own proposal.

Antonius' (and Kleopatra's) objectives, however, emerge less clearly from the fog of after-action reporting and have been debated by historians, ancient and modern, for years. Some – mostly the ancient writers and historians writing before the nineteenth century – see him as determined to win this battle as he would any other he had fought during his soldiering career, putting his faith in his heavy warships and loyal troops.¹¹⁴ Others – mostly twentieth century

historians – dismiss the ancient historians and subscribe to the view that his goal was to withdraw from the confines of the Gulf of Ambracia with as many ships and men as could be salvaged and as much treasure as could be carried, and to pick another time and place for a last stand.¹¹⁵ A third interpretation of the incomplete facts sees Antonius fighting for victory as the primary (but difficult to achieve) objective, with a break-out in force expected as the more likely and pragmatic secondary goal.¹¹⁶ Dio describes a meeting of Antonius' war council in which the subject of discussion is what to do: to stay and fight or to withdraw and relocate somewhere else. Kleopatra wins the debate with the argument that she and Antonius should escape to Egypt, leaving the troops behind to continue the fight.¹¹⁷ In Plutarch's account of the same meeting, Canidius pleads with his commander for Kleopatra to be asked to leave so that Antonius can fight a battle on dry land, perhaps in Macedonia or Thrace; but the queen wins with her argument for a sea battle, implying that her secret motive is to slip away under sail when the opportunity arises.¹¹⁸ Indeed, the treasure had been loaded aboard the Egyptian vessels with sails stowed in the event they could make a dash for open sea and, given the circumstances, that would seem to have been a sensible precaution.¹¹⁹

As so often happens during great campaigns of history, the best prepared battle plans can be delayed by weather. On 29 August, a depression settled over the Ionian Sea and Gulf of Ambracia, bringing a severe storm.¹²⁰ High winds prevented any movement of the fleets on either side, but caused more havoc with Antonius' fleet in the straits and Gulf of Ambracia than Agrippa's anchored off Gomaros Bay. When the generals woke on the fifth day the weather system had moved on leaving behind a gentle breeze and a calm sea. 'Then came the day of the great conflict,' in Paterculus' chilling words, 'on which Caesar and Antonius led out their fleets and fought, the one for the safety, the other for the ruin, of the world.'¹²¹ It was 2 September 31 BCE, a date that would be remembered as a pivotal moment in the thousand-year-long history of the Roman Empire, and a day when the western world changed forever.

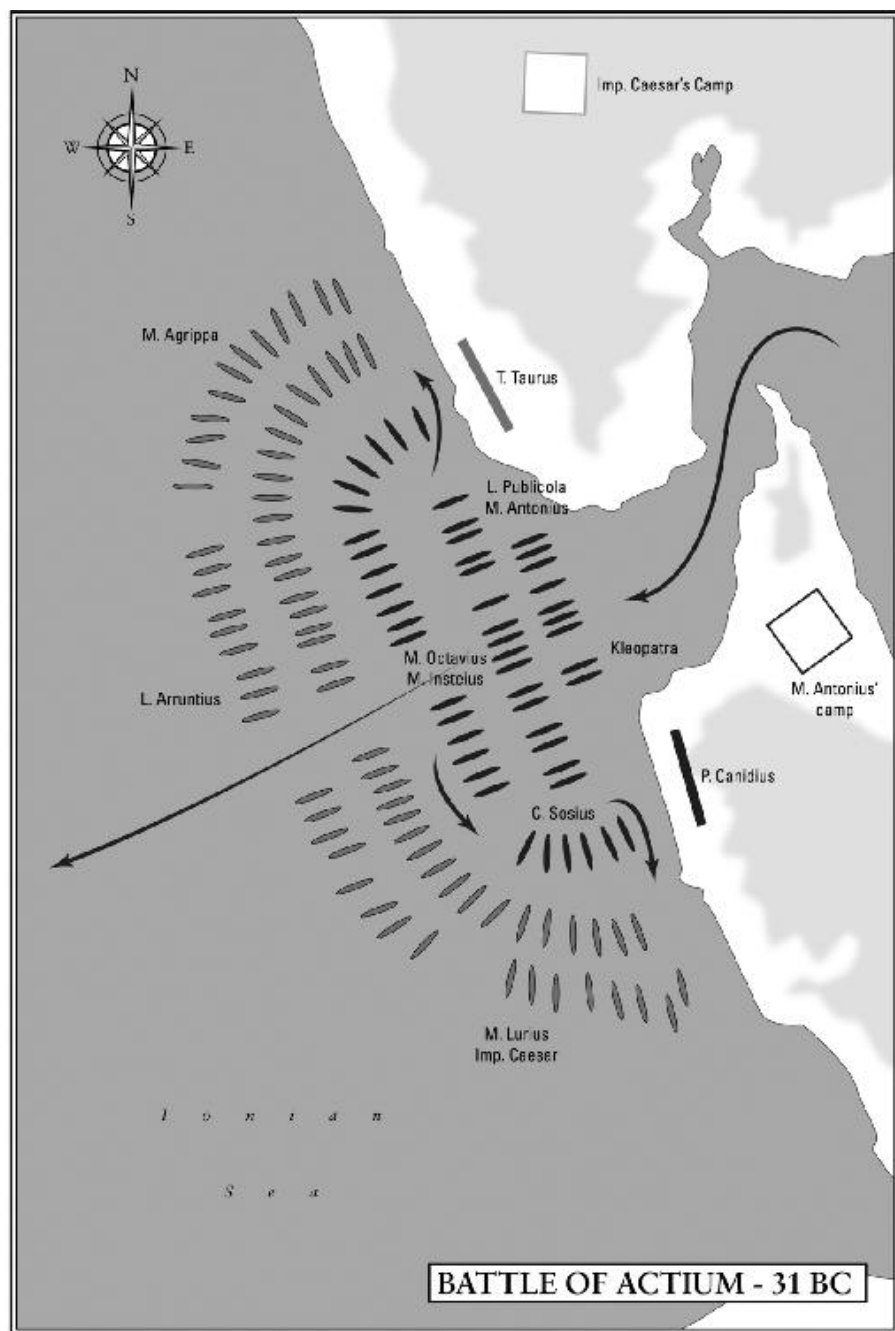
The forces ranged against each other were enormous ([map 8](#)). On dry land Caesar had 80,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry men under the command of Statilius Taurus, compared to Antonius' 120,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry under Canidius, but the 1.5:1 odds in

Antonius' favour would not matter today: this battle was to be decided upon the water.¹²² Arriving from Iudaea, Herodes had brought an army, chests of cash and a ship filled with grain, but Kleopatra persuaded Antonius to send him away to fight a war of no particular strategic importance with the Arabians and he took no part in the war against Caesar.¹²³

Imperator Caesar entrusted the overall command of his fleet to M. Agrippa.¹²⁴ The size of Agrippa's navy continues to provoke argument amongst modern scholars based on the confusion of the ancient sources. Plutarch states he had 250 ships.¹²⁵ Orosius details 230 'beaked ships', 30 'without beaks' and some triremes comparable with the swift Liburnian type of vessel, which Caesar had brought over with him, but he excludes from his tally the advanced forced of Agrippa.¹²⁷ Florus, however, states that he had 400 ships.¹²⁶ Regarding the composition of the fleet,

Caesar's ships had from two (biremes) to six (*hexeres*) banks of oars and no more; being, therefore, easily handled for any manoeuvre that might be required, whether for attacking, backing water or tacking.¹²⁸

These ships were similar in design to those used so effectively by Sex. Pompeius ([plate 13](#)).¹²⁹ The tactical fighting skills of the Roman pirate had deeply impressed Agrippa. He was a keen observer of the world and when he saw a good idea, he adopted it. With the benefit of the insights learned from his victories at Mylae and Naulochus five years earlier, for the anticipated battle in the Ionian Sea, he had revised his military strategy and replaced the equipment with the smaller, but more agile and swifter vessels.¹³⁰ The decks were manned by troops of eight legions, not counting the five Praetorian Cohorts, according to Orosius – which is substantially more than the 20,000 heavily armed men plus 2,000 archers of Plutarch's account.¹³¹ A flotilla of smaller boats carried Caesar's friends whose role was to relay messages between the ships while in action.¹³²



Map 8. The Battle of Actium, 2 September 31 BCE.

In stark contrast to Agrippa's strategy borne of firsthand experience, Antonius, who had no expertise in naval warfare whatsoever, invested in large, heavy fighting platforms (plate 20). His decision was apparently based, ironically, on studying Agrippa's victory over Sex. Pompeius where he had demonstrated the apparent superiority of huge warships and large contingents of marines aboard them.¹³³ Antonius seems to have missed the point that the key difference between the victor and vanquished of the battles fought off the coast of Sicily was not so much the size of the hardware as the innovation of the war machines Agrippa had installed on them, combined with the creative ability of its admiral and the quality of the soldiers engaged in the combat.¹³⁴ True to his showy nature, among Antonius' ships many 'were many vessels of eight (*okteres*) and ten (*dekeres*) banks of oars, arrayed in pompous and festal fashion', while he himself donned a purple robe studded with large gemstones, a curved scimitar hung at his side, and in his hand he gripped a golden sceptre.¹³⁵ Florus confirms the larger size of Antonius' ships and adds that:

their size compensated for their numerical inferiority [to Agrippa's]. For having from six to nine (*enneres*) banks of oars and also rising high out of the water with towers and platforms so as to resemble castles or cities, they made the sea groan and the wind labour as they moved along. Their very size, indeed, was fatal to them.¹³⁶

Orosius records that some of his ships rose as high as 10 Roman feet above the waterline.¹³⁷ Antonius equipped these huge floating fortresses with 'lofty towers' which enabled his large numbers of marines to 'fight from walls, as it were'.¹³⁸ They were certainly needed as the decks were packed with troops.¹³⁹ Significantly, against the urging of his captains, Antonius ordered the masts and sails to be taken aboard the ships, not left on land, telling them with fighting words 'that not one fugitive of the enemy should be allowed to make his escape'.¹⁴⁰

The ancient sources are significantly more divided on the number of ships in Antonius' fleet than they are of Caesar's. Plutarch states Antonius brought 500 ships with him to Actium.¹⁴¹ Florus says that in battle Antonius had 'less than 200 warships', but Orosius gives the

number as precisely 170.¹⁴² The discrepancy in the counts between the two historians might be explained by the fact that Antonius was forced to burn the Egyptian ships – saving just 60 of the best, being a mix of triremes and *dekeres* – because their crews had died from disease or left through desertion; and furthermore not all of his fleet was stationed in the Gulf of Ambracia.¹⁴³ Additionally, some ships had been lost – perhaps to Agrippa – and the recent storm had sunk several more.¹⁴⁴ The actual number of ships Antonius was able to put to sea on 2 September may not have been that greatly different from Caesar's – perhaps as few as 170 vessels, but not more than 230.¹⁴⁵

For Agrippa and Caesar the day began well before dawn. Agrippa assembled the fleet in the Ionian Sea in a line directly facing the strait of the Gulf of Ambracia (plate 21) at a distance Dio says was around 8 furlongs (1.6km or 1 mile) from the enemy and waited for Antonius to make his move.¹⁴⁶ Agrippa stood on his command ship positioned on the left wing with L. Arruntius.¹⁴⁷ On a small boat Caesar moved down the line of warships to encourage his soldiers and sailors.¹⁴⁸ About a mile away in the distance he could see Antonius' fleet formed up in front of the strait, riding up and down with the tide, apparently at anchor.¹⁴⁹ Then Caesar boarded his own ship on the right flank with M. Lurius, and waited.¹⁵⁰

The early morning hours passed by slowly and Antonius' ships failed to respond, forcing Agrippa's men to have to use their oars to hold their ships steady in the water.¹⁵¹ If this continued for too long, Agrippa's men would be soon exhausted from expending their energy just from standing still before the battle had even started. Unseen by Agrippa and Caesar, Antonius was meanwhile haranguing his soldiers from a row-boat, encouraging them to fight as though they were on land, while ordering his captains to hold their ships at the mouth of the strait.¹⁵² Between the fifth and sixth hours – approximately 11.56am to 12.56pm – a wind began to rise from the Ionian Sea and Antonius' men became restless.¹⁵³ Antonius had sub-divided the command of his fleet between L. Gellius Publicola, located on the right wing, and C. Sosius on the left.¹⁵⁴ Behind them in the centre were massed the ships of the Egyptian fleet led by Kleopatra aboard her 'golden vessel with purple sails'.¹⁵⁵ The ships were arranged in close formation.¹⁵⁶ Antonius now gave Sosius the order for his left wing to advance.¹⁵⁷

Seeing the movement, Agrippa gave the pre-agreed signal for his entire line to move in reverse taking them further out to sea so that the ships now formed a wide arc.¹⁵⁸ Agrippa's strategy was to wait until Antonius was clear of the relative safety of the estuary and, once on open sea, to close his left and right wings to encircle him in a naval equivalent of Hannibal's famous manoeuvre at Cannae.¹⁵⁹ Antonius, anticipating that was exactly what was planned, advanced to engage his enemy – hoping to beat him with his bigger, higher-profile fighting platforms packed with troops who could rain down terror and destruction on the smaller vessels – and had briefed his deputies what to do.¹⁶⁰

Working in Agrippa's favour was a wind which regularly starts to blow down from the west around 11.30am.¹⁶¹ It builds in strength through noon, changing direction to west-northwest becoming a force 3–4 sailing breeze – Vergil calls it the *Iapyx* – causing the waves to become agitated between 2.00pm and 3.00pm, before dying out after sunset.¹⁶² This would propel Agrippa's ships forward, but work against his opponent's. Antonius would surely have known this too and had to move before the wind picked up. Propelled by banks of oars, Antonius' galleys moved, slowly at first but steadily gaining speed, towards his enemy's centre. Orosius records that battle was joined during the sixth and seventh hours – approximately 12.56pm to 1.56pm.¹⁶³ Plutarch describes the ensuing clash:

Though the struggle was beginning to be at close range, the ships did not ram or crush one another at all, since Antonius', owing to their weight, had no impetus, which chiefly gives effect to the blows of the beaks, while Caesar's not only avoided dashing front to front against rough and hard bronze armour, but did not even venture to ram the enemy's ships in the side. For their beaks would easily have been broken off by impact against vessels constructed of huge square timbers fastened together with iron. The struggle was therefore like a land battle; or, to speak more truly, like the storming of a walled town. For three or four of Caesar's vessels were engaged at the same time about one of Antonius', and the crews fought with wicker shields and spears and punting-poles and fiery missiles; the soldiers of Antonius also shot with catapults from

In this deadly aquatic embrace Agrippa's ships sought to ram and sink their opponents', while Antonius' ships used long-range missiles and cast-iron grapnels to pick off crews and seize the ships of the other side.¹⁶⁵ 'On the one side', writes Dio, 'the pilots and the rowers endured the most hardship and fatigue, and on the other side the marines; and the one side resembled cavalry, now making a charge and now retreating, since it was in their power to attack and back off at will, and the others were like heavy-armed troops guarding against the approach of foes and trying their best to hold them.'¹⁶⁶ At this point in the battle, Plutarch notes that the sea-fight was still undecided and equally favourable to both sides.¹⁶⁷

With the ships locked in grim combat in the centre, Agrippa sought to gain the clear advantage and now gave the order for his left and right flanks to advance. Becoming aware of this manoeuvre on his right side, Publicola peeled off some of the ships from the main formation to avoid being encircled and prepared to engage Agrippa head on. The effect, intended or not, was to split the centre bloc in two, creating an opening in the battlespace.¹⁶⁸ As Arruntius' vessels jostled those of M. Octavius and M. Insteius, behind them the captains of sixty of the Egyptian ships ordered their crews to hoist their sails and, as the wind picked up, sped through the open channel and veered southwest.¹⁶⁹ The crews of both Agrippa's and Antonius' ships looked on with astonishment as they watched the colourful ships plunge through the lines. Dio writes that Antonius interpreted the move to mean his queen was leaving the battle and he immediately followed after her aboard a quinquereme.¹⁷⁰ With the *Iapyx* blowing at full strength and Agrippa's ships blocking the way, the rest of his fleet was trapped. He clambered aboard Kleopatra's flagship and went straight to the prow.¹⁷¹ Before the battle Agrippa may well have given an order for Antonius' and Kleopatra's ships to be identified and captured because 'at this point, Liburnian ships were seen pursuing them from Caesar's fleet, but Antonius ordered the ship's prow turned to face them, and so kept them off'.¹⁷² Agrippa must have been exasperated at the sudden turn of events. All he could do now was trust that his officers would carry out their orders.

For another man too, capturing Antonius was personal. He was

Eurykles the Laconian,

who attacked vigorously, and brandished a spear on the deck as though he would cast it at Antonius. And when Antonius, standing at the prow, asked, 'Who is this that pursues Antonius?' the answer was, 'I am Eurykles the son of Lachares, whom the fortune of Caesar enables to avenge the death of his father.' Now, Lachares had been beheaded by Antonius because he was involved in a charge of robbery. However, Eurykles did not hit Antonius' ship, but struck the other admiral's ship (for there were two of them) with his bronze beak and whirled her round, and one of the other ships also, which contained costly equipment for household use.¹⁷³

Eurykles failed to take the flagship and the Egyptian vessels, with the wind now filling their sails, slipped away at speed, taking the Roman commander and treasure with them. The effect on Antonius' men, who thought he had abandoned them, was devastating. Some of Antonius' crews tried to follow after their commander, jettisoning anything which might lighten their load, but not having sails they had to rely on oars, and were unable to keep up.¹⁷⁴

Agrippa was not about to let his opponent's main fleet get away. The battle raged with increasing bitterness:

For Caesar's men damaged the lower parts of the ships all around, crushed the oars, snapped off the rudders, and climbing on the decks, seized hold of some of the foe and pulled them down, pushed off others, and fought with yet others, since they were now equal to them in numbers; and Antonius' men pushed their assailants back with boathooks, cut them down with axes, hurled down upon them stones and heavy missiles made ready for just this purpose, drove back those who tried to climb up, and fought with those who came within reach. An eye-witness of what took place might have compared it, likening small things to great, to walled towns or else islands, many in number and close together, being besieged from the sea. Thus the one party strove to scale the boats as they would the dry land or a fortress, and eagerly brought to bear all the implements that have to do with such

an operation, and the others tried to repel them, devising every means that is commonly used in such a case.¹⁷⁵

Agrippa's ship was now just one vessel in the general, confusing mêlée: it was down to the captains and crews of individual ships to disable and defeat their opponents. They did precisely what he had hoped they would and 'they scattered at their will the opposing vessels, which were clumsy and in every respect unwieldy, several of them attacking a single ship with missiles and with their beaks, and also with firebrands hurled into them'.¹⁷⁶ Caesar did not intend to use fire, hoping to capture Antonius' ships undamaged, even calling out to Antonius' men to lay down their arms now that their commander had fled, but that had become an unattainable goal.¹⁷⁷ 'Now another kind of battle was entered upon', writes Dio grimly, where:

the assailants would approach their victims from many directions at once, shoot blazing missiles at them, hurl with their hands torches fastened to javelins and with the aid of engines would throw from a distance pots full of charcoal and pitch. The defenders tried to ward these missiles off one by one, and when some of them got past them and caught the timbers and at once started a great fire, as must be the case in a ship, they used first the drinking water which they carried on board and extinguished some of the conflagrations, and when that was gone they dipped up the sea-water. And if they used great quantities of it at once, they would somehow stop the fire by main force; but they were unable to do this everywhere, for the buckets they had were not numerous nor large size, and in their confusion they brought them up half full, so that, far from helping the situation at all, they only increased the flames, since salt water poured on a fire in small quantities makes it burn vigorously. So when they found themselves getting the worst of it in this respect also, they heaped on the blaze their thick mantles and the corpses, and for a time these checked the fire and it seemed to abate; but later, especially when the wind raged furiously, the flames flared up more than ever, fed by this very fuel. So long as only a part of the ship was on fire, men would stand by that part and leap into it, hewing away or scattering the timbers; and these detached timbers were hurled

by some into the sea and by others against their opponents, in the hope that they, too, might possibly be injured by these missiles. Others would go to the still sound portion of their ship and now more than ever would make use of their grappling-irons and their long spears with the purpose of binding some hostile ship to theirs and crossing over to it, if possible, or, if not, of setting it on fire likewise.¹⁷⁸

As the fires raged men suffered terrible deaths – from inhaling choking smoke or being engulfed in flames aboard their burning ships or, having leaped overboard to save themselves, sank under the weight of their sodden clothing or armour, and drowned (fig. 3).¹⁷⁹

Orosius says the battle continued through the early evening. Florus is more precise, writing that only after Antonius' fleet was 'most severely damaged by the high sea' did his men finally give up the fight at the tenth hour – around 4.16pm.¹⁸⁰ Only at daybreak next morning was Caesar able to declare his victory complete.¹⁸¹ The carnage of the battle is graphically evoked by Florus who writes,



Figure 3. The Battle of Actium in the Gulf of Ambracia raged for several hours. After an initial clash, both sides used massed weapons of destruction, such as ballistas and catapults, to lob lit ammunition onto enemy craft, resulting in terrible casualties.

The vastness of the enemy's forces was never more apparent than after the victory; for, as a result of the battle, the wreckage of the huge fleet floated all over the sea, and the waves, stirred by the winds, continually yielded up the purple and gold-bespangled spoils of the Arabians and Sabaeans and a thousand other Asiatic peoples.¹⁸²

Mopping Up Operations

Agrippa had won the battle for Imperator Caesar and captured hundreds of his enemy's ships, but victory came at a price.¹⁸³ Not more than 5,000 men from Antonius' fleet had lost their lives; Caesar's casualties were much greater, numbering 12,000 dead, 6,000 wounded and of them 1,000 died later despite medical care.¹⁸⁴ On land Antonius' 19 legions of undefeated men-at-arms and 12,000 cavalry could not accept that their commander had abandoned them and, as late as seven days after the battle, were still clinging to the belief that he would make a surprise appearance and lead them to victory.¹⁸⁵ Only when Canidius was found to have deserted them – sneaking away under the cover of darkness – did the men capitulate and offer their unconditional surrender to Caesar.¹⁸⁶

Problematic was that Antonius and Kleopatra had got clean away. Agrippa sent part of his fleet in pursuit of the fugitive *triumvir* and queen.¹⁸⁷ The couple managed to remain one step ahead of the pursuers who finally gave up the chase and returned to the Bay of Gomaros. Meanwhile, Agrippa moved quickly to secure the Greek peninsula. With the rest of his fleet he captured the enemy's fortifications, encountering no opposition because of their small numbers and, without a battle, won over the rest of Antonius' army, which was retreating to Macedonia. He secured for his friend *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*, which Iulius Caesar had refounded as a colony of army veterans in 44 BCE just months before his assassination, yet had been the only Greek city to keep its city gates firmly shut to his official heir.¹⁸⁸

Though Caesar wanted to return to Italy, there was much to do locally before he could go. He chose to stay in Athens for the remainder of the year, administering the region from there and hoping to learn more of Antonius' whereabouts.¹⁸⁹ He soon discovered that

Antonius had ravaged the free Greek communities, stripping them of money, slaves and animals for his war effort; their free citizens had even been forced to carry heavy loads of grain upon their backs – among whom was Plutarch's own Uncle Nicarchus – to Antikyra and load up the vessels bound for Actium.¹⁹⁰ At this point Caesar did not know where his adversary had escaped to.

Caesar could not leave Greece without leaving his mark upon the landscape. On the site of his former army camp he founded a new city and populated it with the inhabitants of smaller, failed cities in the surrounding region.¹⁹¹ He named this place Nikopolis, 'Victory City', in honour of his success at Actium. The centrepiece, set upon the highest point of the city above a grove sacred to Apollo, was to be a war memorial adorned with the spoils of the Actian War. Games to Actian Apollo – Caesar's favourite god – were inaugurated to take place every five years and ground was broken for a gymnasium and stadium to be built to host the athletic competitions.

His immediate challenge, however, was the army. Despite the victory at Actium, Kleopatra had sailed away with her treasure and Caesar still did not have sufficient funds to cover his financial obligation to his troops. Further his ranks were now swollen with men from Antonius' legions.¹⁹² His own men had remained loyal through the years of campaigning, believing they would be rewarded by capturing the rich spoils of Egypt, but the inactivity since Actium led many to believe this was now no more than a pipe dream. While the officers of the Caesarian legions kept this rank and file in check, the men were nevertheless becoming restless. Many of the veterans – men who had served sixteen years – faced demobilization and, when they realized they were not going to receive any payment for their service, began to protest.¹⁹³

Fearing the demonstrations might become an all-out mutiny and spread to other units, Caesar charged Agrippa with repatriating the legions to Italy ([map 9](#)).¹⁹⁴ He trusted his friend completely and that alone would have been reason enough to assign him the important task; but, with so many troops returning back home at one time he also needed a strong authority figure to maintain control. A man with proven credentials, Agrippa was now a ranking patrician who carried high status and an ex-consul, whereas his present deputy in Rome, Maecenas, was member of the *ordo equester* without portfolio and, as

such, his orders might be disregarded by the returning troops. Paterculus remarks that Maecenas, equally beloved of Caesar, 'might have achieved a position no less high than Agrippa, but had not the same ambition for it'.¹⁹⁵ Yet the two men complemented Caesar's skills and temperament. They formed his personal, but unofficial council (*concilium*) of advisors. Where Agrippa brought tried and tested know-how in management and military science, Maecenas provided the connections and panache Emperor Caesar needed to get things done in political Rome. To speak and act for him in his absence, Caesar empowered *both* men:

He also gave to Agrippa and to Maecenas so great authority in all matters that they might even read beforehand the letters which he wrote to the Senate and to others and then change whatever they wished in them. To this end they also received from him a ring, so that they might be able to seal the letters again. For he had caused to be made in duplicate the seal which he used most at that time, the design being a sphinx, the same on each copy; since it was not till later that he had his own likeness engraved upon his seal and sealed everything with that then.¹⁹⁶

Dio adds that whenever Caesar wrote a letter containing confidential information to Agrippa and Maecenas or any of his other close friends, he would use a monoalphabetic substitution cipher which shifted each letter of a word a single place in the alphabet.¹⁹⁷ Agrippa had good reason to use the code. Over the subsequent months he is recorded as writing frequently to Caesar urging him to return to Italy to deal with matters there which required his presence in person.¹⁹⁸ Agrippa was not a man to cry wolf. The fact he was making this request at all hints that Agrippa, despite his social and political status, was struggling to assert his authority and was concerned that the Caesarians might lose control of the situation. Even far from Rome, the long shadow of Antonius still reached into the corners of the Senate House to remind the Conscript Fathers that, though absent, he could yet stage a return. He had allies among the returning troops scattered across Italy and powerful friends in the city. Even for Agrippa Rome was not safe. As Caesar's senior deputy, he faced real personal danger. Indeed, only that year a plot to assassinate Caesar led by the son of the former

triumvir Lepidus had been exposed and squashed by Maecenas.¹⁹⁹ Someone with a vendetta or seeking to curry favour with Antonius could strike Caesar's Number One man at any moment.



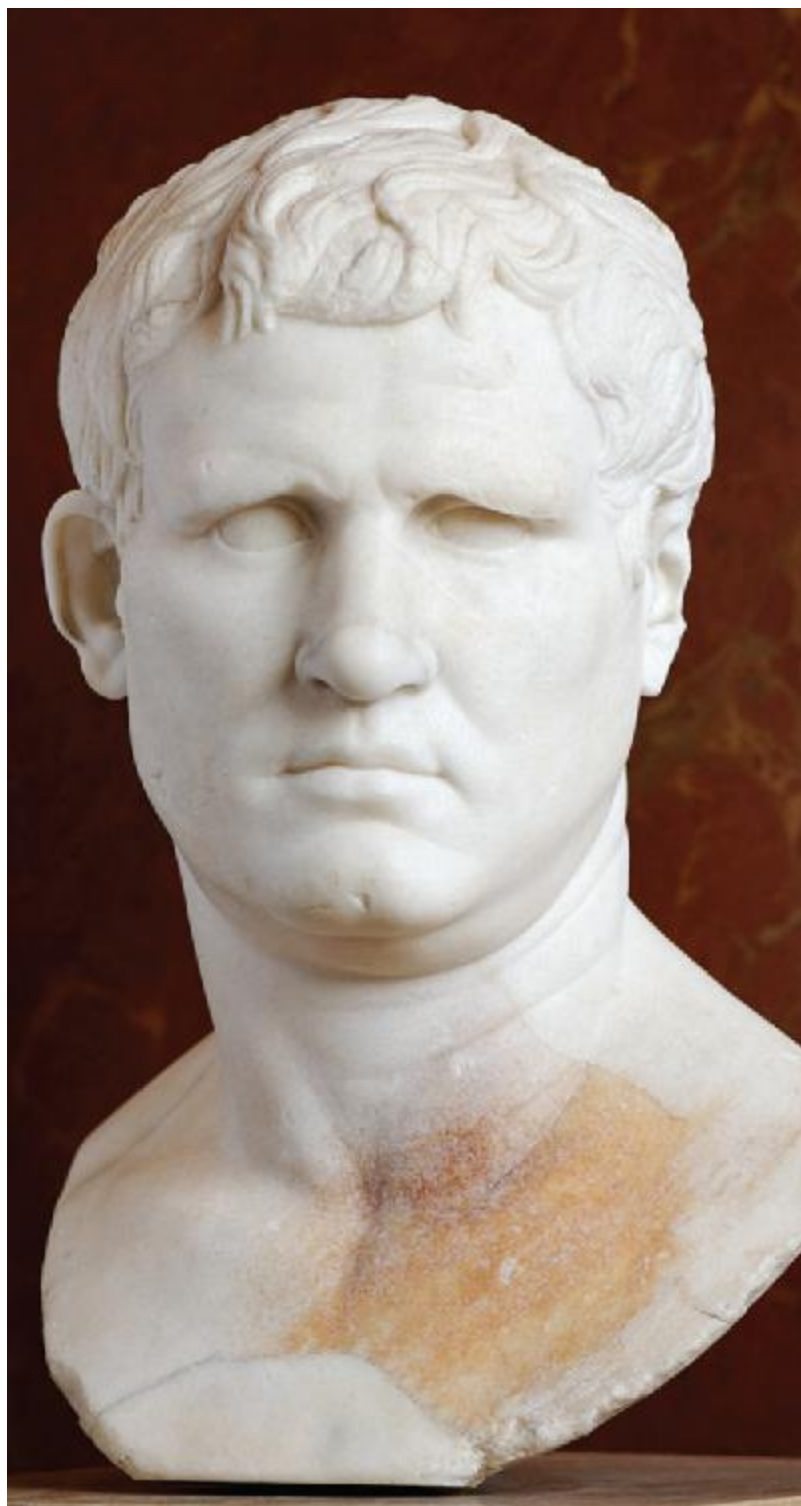
Map 9. Agrippa's Travels, 32-31 BCE.

After the events of 2 September, Kleopatra's fleet had sailed south, stopping at Tainaros (modern Cape Tainaros) on the southernmost tip of Peloponnese to take on board provisions before making the crossing to Egypt.²⁰⁰ There Antonius joined her. For much of the time Antonius sulked and would not talk with his queen.²⁰¹ He was ashamed that he had escaped with his life and left his entire army behind. The couple eventually reconciled, but parted company, Antonius sailing to Africa to join Pinarius Scarpa, and Kleopatra going home to Alexandria.²⁰² Antonius did not receive the welcome he had hoped for. The men he sent ahead to announce his imminent arrival were killed on the spot and Scarpa refused point blank to meet Antonius. He then tried to commit suicide, but the two friends who had accompanied him prevented him from carrying out the threat.²⁰³ Having accomplished nothing he travelled onto Alexandria.²⁰⁴ He did not know it yet, but even his most loyal friend Herodes, king of the Jews, had finally deserted him and gone over to Caesar's side.²⁰⁵



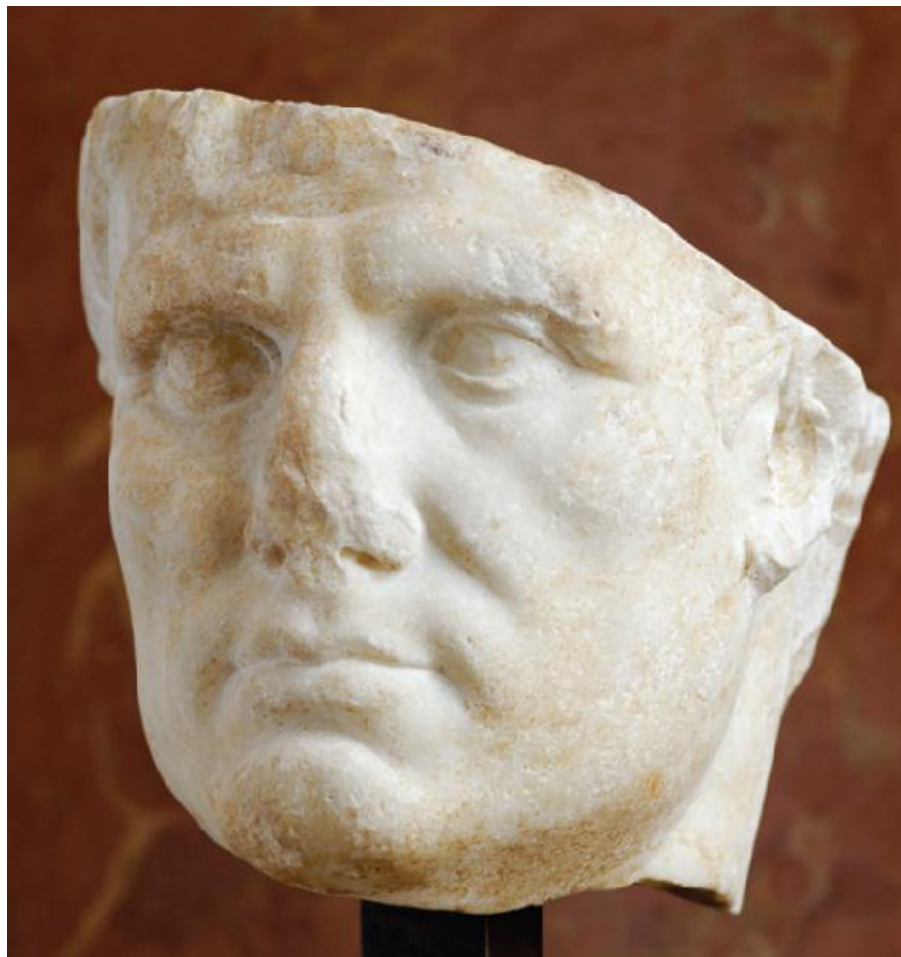
1. Several portrait busts identified as Marcus Agrippa survive. The expression on

the head in the Pergamon Museum is confident and assured.



2. The bust from Gabii is the portrait most recognisable as Agrippa. The hairstyle,

thick eyebrows and double chin are distinctive characteristics of this naturalistic sculpture.



3. This damaged bust in the Louvre displays similar features to the one found at Gabii.



4. In this bust Agrippa is shown wearing one of his awards – the *corona navalis* –

for victory at the battles of Mylae and Naulochus.



5. Augustus, the man Agrippa idolised and served faithfully for three decades as

his right-hand man, was great nephew of the dictator Iulius Caesar.



6. The *centurio*, with his distinctive transverse crest, was a key officer in the Roman army in charge of a *centuria* of eighty men. The outcome of a battle often turned upon the leadership qualities of a centurion.



7. Commands on the battlefield were relayed by use of standards or music. The officers had other duties including maintaining financial accounts of men's pay and savings and contributions to the unit's burial fund.



8. The legionary in Agrippa's time wore a shirt of iron chain mail with doubling over the shoulders. An oval shield was both a defensive and offensive weapon. The *pilum* was the standard weapon thrown in a massed volley.



9. The conical 'Montefortino' helmet provided basic protection from sword blows while allowing for good visibility. Legionaries advanced upon the enemy with the double-edged *gladius* drawn.



10. To build and train a navy to defeat Sex. Pompeius Agrippa constructed *Portus Iulius*, connecting two inland lakes to an artificial harbour in the Bay of Pozzuoli.



11. In battle the crew of a bireme or *liburna* would disable an enemy ship by ramming it or breaking its oars. If it did not sink, marines would then board and fight to capture the vessel.



12. A coin depicts the prow of a warship with its cast bronze beak and a multi-level tower used as a platform for catapults or ballistas.



13. From his base in Sicily, Sex. Pompeius used biremes of the kind depicted on this coin, which bears a portrait of his famous father. The warship is shown with mainsail unfurled.



14. After military victories in Aquitania and Germania Magna, Agrippa was elected Consul Designate for 37 BCE.



15. As aedile Agrippa prioritised repairs to the fresh water transportation and distribution system, starting with the *Aqua Marcia*.



16. One of Agrippa's great innovations was the large scale integrated public bathing centre. The *Thermae Agrippae* combined damp and dry heat baths with an adjoining gymnasium. Only a single section of wall survives.



17. Agrippa intended his great building to be called the *Augusteum*. Though flattered, Augustus overruled the proposal. It has been called the Pantheon ever since and still bears its original builder's name.



18. Antonius and Caesar were uncomfortable partners in the Second Triumvirate. Antonius ridiculed his junior colleague's age – he was only 20 when this coin was minted – and lack of experience, but would come to regret underestimating his his colleague's potential to surprise.



19. Queen Kleopatra VII of Egypt became Antonius' principal backer, providing the means for him to field an army and navy against Caesar and Agrippa.



20. Military mints travelling with the triumvirs provided coin to pay the troops. Antonius' coins showed the *aquila* and *signa* of a unit – here *Legio II* – on one side, and a bireme with its main mast down, on the other.



21. A view of the Gulf of Ambracia where the navies of Caesar and Antonius clashed. Agrippa led his fleet to a pivotal victory at the Battle of Actium on 2 September 31 BCE.



22. In the years following Actium, 'IMP[erator] CAESAR' minted coins celebrating the victory such as this naval trophy of captured arms, armour and warship.



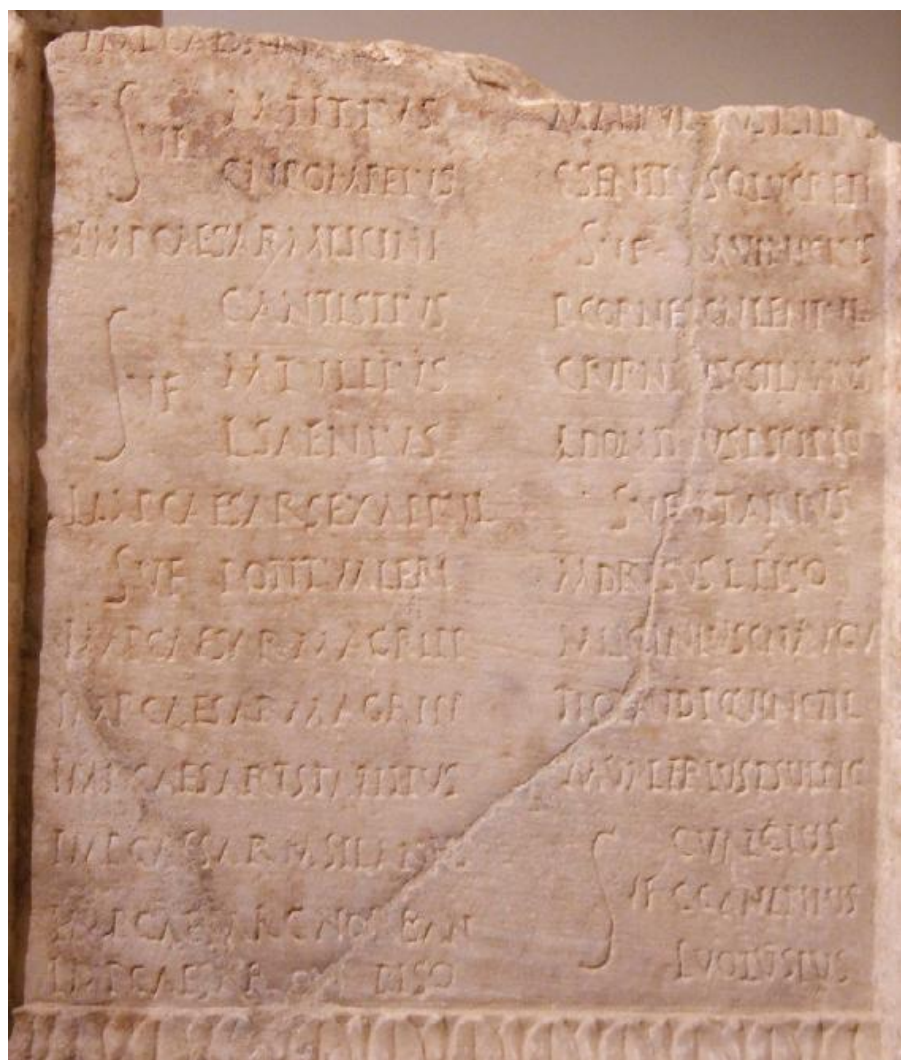
23. Winged Victory and a naked Neptuneus recall the victory at Actium claimed by 'CAESAR DIVI F[ilius]', 'Caesar, son of the God'.



24. After being declared *damnatio memoriae*, the face of a colossal statue of M. Antonius was recarved to become M. Agrippa – a new hero for a new age.



25. Agrippa chose Mytilene on Lesbos as his base of operations during both missions to the East.



26. The *Fasti Consulares* records in stone the names of the consuls in chronological order. Agrippa's consulships for 28 and 27 BCE are shown as the sixth and fifth lines from the bottom.



27. M. Claudius Marcellus was widely regarded as Augustus' likely successor. Some speculated that Agrippa was jealous of the apparent favouritism.

shows the two men as equals sitting on a bench on the Rostra in the Forum Romanum.



29. Opened on 9 June 19 BCE the *Aqua Augusta* brought fresh water from outside Rome along elevated and subterranean channels to Agrippa's complex of baths, a lake, a canal and fountains. It was popularly known as the *Aqua Virgo* after the young girl who found the source.



30. The Maison Carrée, Nîmes is one of the best preserved Augustan-era temples to survive. It was commissioned by Agrippa as a gift for the city of *Colonia Nemausus*.



31. Augustus and Agrippa encouraged development of the communities of army veterans across the empire. *Colonia Nemausus* minted a coin in their honour along with the city's insignia.



32. For winning the Cantabrian and Asturian Wars Agrippa was awarded a triumph, which he declined, but instead accepted the unique but distinctive *corona muralis*.



33. M. Agrippa is honoured on a bronze coin by the city of *Colonia Caesaraugusta* (CCA), a community of veterans from legions which fought in the Cantabrian and Asturian Wars.



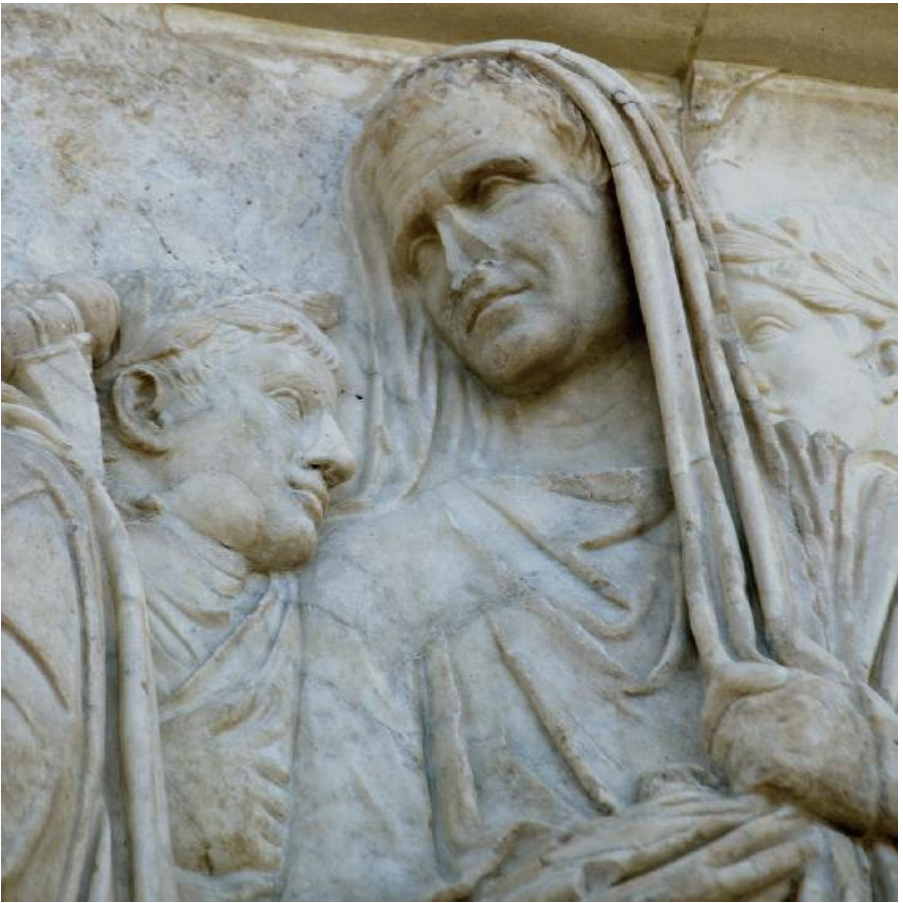
34. Agrippa visited cities in the Hispanic provinces. The city of *Colonia Emerita Augusta* received his favour and honoured him with an inscription in the theatre.



35. The remains of the Odeion of Agrippa in Athens hint at the opulence of the building in its heyday. Sea tritons were part of the maritime themed decorations of the public entrance.



36. Iulia the Elder accompanied Agrippa on his tour of the eastern provinces. Ephesus recorded their visit on an inscription in the city's forum.



37. Agrippa died before the *Ara Pacis Augustae* was inaugurated. He is included in the procession of guests at the event but is the only one shown with his *toga* covering his head.



38. After Agrippa's death there were reports that a comet had been seen in the sky. This *denarius* shows Augustus holding a star with the right hand above the semi-naked figure of Agrippa who holds a small Winged Victory in the palm of his right hand and a mace in his left.



39. Debate continues about whether Augustus or Tiberius or Caligula first minted this as showing a high relief portrait of Agrippa and semi-naked Neptuneus holding a trident and dolphin.



40. Augustus adopted Agrippa's son Caius hoping to raise him as his heir. Despite many advantages he proved a disappointment.



41. Adopted by Augustus at the same time as Tiberius, Postumus Agrippa even failed to live up to the low expectations of him.



42. Agrippa's daughter Agrippina the Elder married Germanicus Caesar. They created a dynasty which included the emperors Caligula and Nero.



43. In a tribute to the builder of the *Aqua Virgo*, which still supplies water to the Trevi Fountain, Rome, the eighteenth-century architect designed two panels commemorating Agrippa.



44. The second of the Trevi panels commemorates the moment the young girl located the source of the *Aqua Virgo* for Agrippa.



45. Lawrence Alma-Tadema's *An Audience at Agrippa's* (1876) is one of the few paintings to depict the life of M. Agrippa.

Chapter 5

Architect of the New Rome

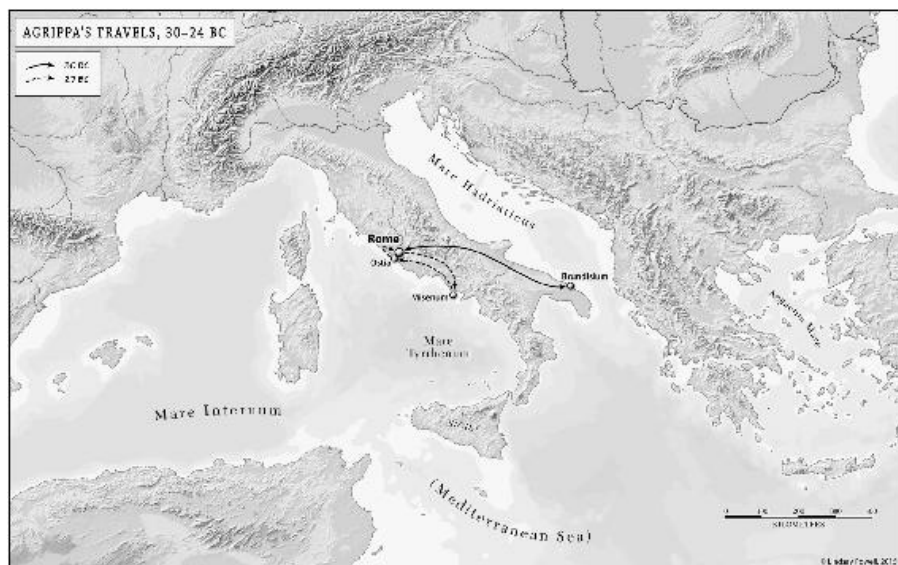
30–24 BCE

Jubilation and Exultation

Imperator Caesar finally heeded Agrippa's pleas for his return.¹ He had been elected as consul for the year 30 BCE and, before leaving Greece, he delegated to others the important mission of finding Antonius who was still at large. Meanwhile Agrippa and Maecenas prepared for their friend's imminent arrival (*adventus*) and set off to Brundisium ([map 10](#)). Caesar was met at the port city by a large delegation comprising members of the Senate, the *equites* and other people of importance in a public display of unequivocal support for the victor of the Actian War.² This time he brought money with which he settled the debt of the disaffected veterans, and to those who had served with him in his campaigns he also granted allotments of land.³ The land he found for them in Italy came from confiscations of property held by friends and allies of Antonius, but he was careful to compensate those negatively impacted with land offshore in Dyrrhacium, Philippi and elsewhere, with promises of payment to those unsuccessful in getting alternative accommodations.⁴ His policy came with consequences, however. He was now spending more cash than he had and, as a sign of his good faith, he had to put up his own property as well as that of his friends – no doubt Agrippa's included – for auction to raise additional monies; although no property or money actually changed hands, nevertheless, Caesar succeeded in buying himself time.⁵ He issued to those who had received amnesty the right to live in Italy and, to the people of Rome who had not come out to greet him in Brundisium despite having sworn an oath of loyalty, he issued a general pardon.⁶ Now, more urgently than ever, he needed to find the treasure smuggled away by Kleopatra. Thirty days after having landed in the heel of Italy, he boarded his ship and sailed for

Greece.⁷ Agrippa must have sighed with relief for the swift, complete and peaceful way Caesar had found solutions to the matters which had vexed him so deeply.

By the time Caesar returned again to Italy in August of 29 BCE, the Roman world was slowly discovering that the war was over. His army had since defeated Antonius' and Alexandria had been taken on 1 August 30 BCE, and an additional nineteen legions now swore allegiance to him.⁸ Antonius had committed suicide. Queen Kleopatra too was dead – by suicide was the official version though it may have been a professional assassination.⁹ Nevertheless, Caesar saw to it that she had a burial fit for a queen.¹⁰ Caesar spared the children of both Fulvia and Kleopatra, all except Caesarion who was captured while trying to flee to India via Ethiopia and was executed, and Antyllus, who, betrayed by his tutor, was beheaded.¹¹ The kingdom of Egypt was annexed as a territory of Rome to be administered by a *praefectus* of his own choosing.¹²



Map 10. Agrippa's Travels, 30–24 BCE.

Perhaps at the subtle urging of Agrippa, the Senate considered awards of honours for Caesar, while he was making the return journey to Italy. They concurred and granted him a full triumph for his victory over Kleopatra in the Actian War, and another for beating the Egyptians in the Alexandrian War.¹³ The Senate also consented to arches (*ianī*) adorned with trophies being erected at Brundisium where he entered Italy, and in the *Forum Romanum*, Rome – taking care not to mention that Roman lives had been extinguished in their defence on Antonius' side.¹⁴ The Senate further decreed that the foundation slab of the shrine of Iulius Caesar should be adorned with the beaks of the ships captured at Actium and that a festival should be held every four years in honour of his heir; that there should also be a general thanksgiving on his birthday – 23 September – and on the anniversary of the announcement of his victory; and that when he entered the City of Rome the Vestal Virgins, the Conscript Fathers and the people with their wives and children should go out to greet him.¹⁵ Additionally there were provisions for crowns (the Roman equivalent of medals), statues, other lesser public honours and prayers.¹⁶ In their prayers on behalf of the Senate and People, the priests and priestesses were required to pray for him likewise, and at all banquets, public and private, everyone was obliged to pour a libation to him.¹⁷

Particularly important was the requirement for the removal of M. Antonius' statues and any memorials connected with him.¹⁸ In at least one known case the face of a statue of Antonius was re-carved to become that of Agrippa (plate 24). Antonius was declared *damnatio memoriae*, a man whose name and memory were expunged from the roster of Roman citizens – in effect it was as though he had never existed.¹⁹ His birthday – 14 January – was designated *dies nefastus*, an accursed day on which public business could not be conducted, and surviving and future males of *gens Antonia* were banned from using the name Marcus. The day on which the news of Antonius' death reached Rome happened to be while M. Tullius Cicero, son of the famous orator, was serving his term as suffect consul. As Antonius had been a principal advocate for his father's execution many saw divine justice at work.²⁰ The day on which Alexandria was captured was declared *dies fastus*, a lucky day on which business should be encouraged, and, as a reminder of their treachery, the Egyptian city's population were instructed to take this date as 'Year 0' for their

reckoning of time.²¹

Most significant was the political award of tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*) to Caesar for life. Uniquely for a tribune of the people, he was empowered to aid those who called upon him for help both within the *pomerium* and outside up to a distance of one mile.²² Recognizing his wisdom, Caesar was appointed to judge appeal cases, and in all the courts he presided over his vote was to be cast as 'Athena's vote', the deciding ballot.²³ Yet more honours were heaped upon him, including the naming of one of the voting tribes as Julian, that he should wear the triumphator's crown on all public occasions, and others, but finally that he could choose priests in whatever number and frequency he wished.²⁴ Caesar willingly accepted all but a few of the honours, though he expressly requested that the proposal requiring that the whole population of the city should go out to meet him on his arrival should not be put into effect.²⁵

The one honour pleasing Caesar above all others was the decree which required the doors of the Temple of Janus to be closed. The act of shutting the doors of the god with two faces on 11 January was to advertise to the world that all wars had ceased – an exceedingly rare occurrence.²⁶ (Dio points out that they still were fighting along the Rhine, among the hills of northern Spain and elsewhere, yet the Romans did not consider that they were engaged in war.) Associated with this, Caesar also appreciated receiving the honour of performing the *augurium salutis*, a particular kind of augury observed on that day of each year on which no Roman army was marching to war, or was preparing itself against an enemy, or with whom it was already fighting a battle.²⁷

Communicating news of the victory at Actium to the widest number of people were silver coins specially struck in Brundisium and Rome with portraits of Emperor Caesar *Divi filius* on the obverse, and images of a naval war trophy (plate 22) or winged Victory (plate 23) standing on a ship's prow on the reverse.²⁸ The exquisite quality of the images on these pieces suggests Caesar insisted that only the best die makers were employed on the project. Agrippa's name does not appear on any of these coins, but he was not overlooked in this frenzy of award giving. After sacrifices were offered in gratitude for his safe return 'Caesar bestowed eulogies and honours upon his deputies, as was customary, and to Agrippa he further granted, among other

distinctions, a flag (*vexillum*) in honour of his naval victory'.²⁹ It was an extraordinary public honour. The choice of a vividly coloured pennant – blue to signify the sea – may have been determined by the fact that Agrippa had already received the *corona navalis*, the golden crown surmounted with ships' beaks.³⁰ From now on everytime Agrippa travelled by ship it would fly this unmistakable ensign.

Other honours were bestowed on Caesar's admiral, but Dio does not specify what they were.³¹ It is surmised that, around this time, four columns incorporating the bronze beaks of captured warships were erected in Rome in honour of Caesar and Agrippa.³² A share of the treasure trove removed from Egypt may have been given to him. He may also have received an estate in Egypt.³³ Valuable property was given to Agrippa in Rome. Caesar gave the house of M. Antonius on the Palatinus Hill jointly to Agrippa and Messalla – probably the *Domus Rostrata*, the house grotesquely decorated with sunken ships' beaks – which he had previously taken from Pompeius Magnus.³⁴ Of greater significance, Agrippa may have been a direct beneficiary of the *Lex Saenia* sponsored by suffect consul L. Saenius and enacted in 30 BCE, which was intended to increase the number of patrician families – needed to run government institutions – after its decimation during the Civil Wars.³⁵ This law, endorsed by *lex curiata*, adlected chosen plebians, raising them to patrician status – a legal instrument which would soon prove to be very useful.³⁶

During the year, Caesar assumed the acclamatory honour *imperator* as an official title.³⁷ The high point of the year was Caesar's triumph. From 13 until 15 August he celebrated not one, but three, one after the other.³⁸ The first day celebrated the victories of 35 BCE in Illyricum; the achievement of C. Carrinas, who had squashed a revolt of the Morini in Belgica and completed a punitive campaign against the Suebi who had crossed the Rhine and raided into Gallia Comata, was also recognized at the same time.³⁹ Normally, leading the procession and displayed as a war trophies were the high value captives bound in chains and displayed on floats with explanatory placards. Following them was Caesar, his face and arms daubed in purple dye. Turning the occasion into a family affair, his nephew M. Claudius Marcellus and oldest stepson Ti. Claudius Nero rode the flanking horses, and his daughter Iulia and youngest stepson Nero Claudius Drusus stood with him in the triumphator's chariot.⁴⁰ On the

second day the Actian War was celebrated. Agrippa undoubtedly took part on both days of celebrations, perhaps walking in the military procession which followed behind Caesar's chariot. The final day was by far the most spectacular of the three.⁴² This marked the conquest of Egypt a little over a year after the actual event. In the absence of the living queen, an effigy of the dead Kleopatra was carried on a couch. Her surviving children – the 10-year-old twins Alexander Helios and Kleopatra Selene II and 6-year-old Ptolemaeus Philadelphus – however, were part of the display and walked in the vanguard with other enchained captives and heaped up war spoils.⁴³ Then followed Caesar in his chariot and after him his fellow-consul Sex. Apuleius and the other magistrates, along with the senators who had participated in the victory.⁴⁴ Since Agrippa was in Rome during the Egyptian campaign, he was probably not a participant but had a place of honour amidst the cheering audience. On 18 August Caesar dedicated the new Temple of Iulius Caesar and the newly renovated *Curia Iulia*.⁴⁵ These buildings reinforced his support of the emerging cult of Caesar – deified by decree of the Senate thirteen years earlier – and were subtle public declarations of the connection between the divine Iulius and himself as his mortal heir.⁴⁶ On 28 August a statue of Victoria, the angelic winged goddess of victory, was erected inside the new Senate House. Located in the *Forum Romanum*, these buildings were proof of the younger Caesar's full commitment to the ancient city and its future.⁴⁷

With the wealth of Egypt in his possession Caesar paid off his own debts and cancelled the obligations on the treasury prior to 2 September 31 BCE.⁴⁸ To each citizen, adult or child, he gave 400 *sestertii*.⁴⁹ So much gold bullion and coin was brought to the city, in fact, that the economic impact was inflationary – the prices of basic commodities rose and the interest rate charged on loans spiked at 12 per cent.⁵⁰ The result of the visual spectacular and distribution of largesse was that, in Dio's words, 'the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners.'⁵¹

In January 28 BCE Agrippa was sworn in as consul for the second time; the other consul, for the sixth time, was again Caesar, and both men served their full terms.⁵² Caesar showed his own loyalty to his friend 'for he always paid exceptional honour to Agrippa'.⁵³

Specifically,

he delivered to Agrippa, his colleague, the bundles of rods as it was incumbent upon him to do, while he himself used the other set, and on completing his term of office he took the oath according to ancestral custom.⁵⁴

Of the twenty-four *fascēs* given to Caesar as consul up to 29 BCE, Agrippa now received half of them, demonstrating publicly that he considered the two consuls were of equal status. Furthermore he provided Agrippa with a tent similar in size and design to his own so that when they were campaigning together they would be seen as equal, and the watchword was to be given out by both of them from that time on.⁵⁵

To bind the two men closer yet, a political marriage was arranged. The status of Agrippa's marriage to Caecilia Attica, daughter of the late Atticus, is unknown – the sources are silent about her. If he was still married to Attica, the couple now divorced. In the context of the new honours, Dio remarks that Agrippa married Claudia Marcella (Marcella the Elder), a public sign that he was admitted as a welcome member of the House of Caesar.⁵⁶ As Claudia Marcella was the daughter of Octavia, sister of Claudius Marcellus, thus Agrippa was marrying Caesar's niece. According to Suetonius they had one child, a daughter named Vipsania Marcella.⁵⁷ One of Agrippa's daughters would marry P. Quintilius Varus, a young man of Cremona from an impoverished patrician clan who was working to improve his own and his family's fortunes. The evidence is not clear if the daughter was from the marriage to Caecilia Attica or Claudia Marcella. It remains one of history's unsolved mysteries. The marriage to his daughter – no later than 25 BCE – would make Varus his son-in-law.⁵⁸

Further adding prestige to Agrippa's name and raising his social standing was a new priesthood.⁵⁹ Agrippa is recorded as having entered the college of the *Fratres Arvales* this year, a position likely made at Caesar's request since he had the privilege of appointing priests at his pleasure.⁶⁰ The *Fratres Arvales* was a college of twelve members elected for life. The religious order's duty was to offer an annual sacrifice for the fertility of the fields.⁶¹ The distinguished members of the *collegiums* for 29 BCE were Caesar, Messala and Scribonius Libo.⁶² The appointment demonstrated he had the full

approval of his peers. Agrippa was an ordinary member on his initiation, but he could look forward to promotion to priestly *flamen* or *praetor*, as positions were elected annually, or as they became vacant through the death of a member. He would have been intricately involved in organizing the annual three-day festival of the archaic earth goddess Dea Dia in May.⁶³ The rite usually took place in the *magister's* – probably Caesar's – house.⁶⁴ As his badge of office, Agrippa wore a chaplet of ears of corn fastened to his head by a white band.⁶⁵ When the sun rose on the morning of the first day, fruits and incense were offered with prayers to the goddess. After the banquet which followed, the guests were handed gifts and garlands. On the second day, four boys – all sons of senators – each wearing a wreath of corn upon his head, a white fillet and the *toga praetexta*, formed a chorus, who sang the song of the *Fratres Arvales*. The lyrics of this hymn were in a dialect of Latin so ancient that even the Romans of Agrippa's time struggled to understand them.⁶⁶ In the temple of the Dea Dia, there was a ritual dance, while in her grove, located about five miles south of the city, a purification rite took place. There were elections for the officers of the *collegium* for the next year, followed by races and a banquet. On the third and final day, ritual prayers were offered and solemn oaths were made to the goddess. Agrippa's personal feelings about these religious offices are not recorded. The extant sources say very little about his spiritual life, beyond his demonstrated disdain for astrologers and charlatans, but his acceptance of a place in the Arval Brotherhood indicates he accepted traditional state religion, regardless of whether or not he actually believed in the arcane rituals.

In 29 BCE Maecenas' friend Vergil began his epic work, the *Aeneid*. In recounting the tale of Aeneas' flight from Troy in the wake of the victory of the Greeks and his quest to found a new Illium, Vergil cleverly weaved in references to contemporary people and events. Agrippa makes few appearances in the great work, but he does so both allegorically and by name. The calming of a great storm that befalls Aeneas at sea by Neptunus is a political simile for an unidentified man who quells and soothes the raging spirits of a riotous crowd with his words.⁶⁷ Some scholars have identified this individual as Caesar, and equated the tempest to the civil discord in Rome. If Aeneas is an allegory for Caesar, then his Achates is Agrippa, who takes a leading

role in raising the spirits of his drenched comrades:

First, good Achates, with repeated strokes
Of clashing flints, their hidden fire provokes:
Short flame succeeds; a bed of wither'd leaves
The dying sparkles in their fall receives:
Caught into life, in fiery fumes they rise.⁶⁸

In a subsequent simile, Aeneas' companion shoots three deer in a hunting scene:

He stood; and, while secure they fed below,
He took the quiver and the trusty bow
Achates us'd to bear: the leaders first
He laid along, and then the vulgar pierc'd.⁶⁹

The three deer, which lead their respective columns of followers through the countryside, represent Augustus' opponents during the Civil War, M. Antonius, M. Lepidus and Sex. Pompeius. When Aeneas slays each deer, those following them become a rabble (*vulgus*) who seek shelter, like the unruly mob evoked in the sea storm scene. Aeneas is able to calm the grieving spirits of his companions fatigued from struggle with a speech in the same manner the unnamed individual quells the riotous crowd of the earlier episode.

First Constitutional Settlement

Incrementally, but irreversibly, the state institutions were falling under Caesar's control. What role Agrippa played in this process is not recorded, but it is virtually certain that Caesar consulted him both as a close friend (*amicus*) and as a personal advisor (*auctor*) just as he had done since March 44 BCE.⁷⁰ The objectives they set for a new vision of Rome seem to have been to create apparatus that would preserve the stability of the state so that powerful men acting in their own self interests could no longer tear the republic apart, and to make the government administration fit to run a sprawling world empire. This would not be an autocracy: there would be no king, as in Rome's earliest times; nor would there be a perpetual *dictator* as Iulius Caesar had fleetingly become.⁷¹ The challenge was to make far reaching reforms of the *Res Publica* while retaining its character as a democratic body of free citizens operating as a nation based on the rule of law.

In pursuit of his reforms, Caesar resuscitated the office of *ensor* which had stood unfilled since the civil wars. This ancient magistracy, dating back to the Roman monarchy, performed three functions, which were to conduct a census of the population every five years, to uphold standards of public morality and to administer the public finances, including the superintendence of public buildings and the erection of all new public works.⁷² Two censors were appointed annually. In 28 BCE Caesar assumed the office with Agrippa as his colleague and, following a purification ceremony (*lustratio*), together they immediately embarked on a purge of the Senate.⁷³ The Senate, whose membership had swollen to as many as 1,000 after the civil war, was scaled down to its original number of just 300 men.⁷⁴ Faced with intrusive examinations by the censors 50 willingly withdrew their names, but 140 were compelled to surrender their membership on the grounds of unsuitability or disqualification.⁷⁵ Caesar rewarded his own loyal followers and admitted many of the new patrician families created under the *Lex Saenia* into the Senate.⁷⁶ In a move designed to prevent meddling in the affairs of the legions in the provinces, senators wishing to travel outside Italy – except Sicily and Narbonensis – now had to ask permission from Caesar.⁷⁷ However, to reassure senators that there would be no witch hunt to root out men with past loyalties to M. Antonius, Caesar burned all the private correspondence with the late *triumvir*.⁷⁸ By the end of the year the census of the population, commissioned by Caesar and Agrippa in their official capacity, was completed. The tally of Roman citizens came to 4,063,000.⁷⁹ In recognition of its completion Caesar himself was recognized as *Princeps Senatus*, the ‘First Man of the Senate’, historically a position voted to the member of the Senate thought most worthy, although the honorific title itself did not entitle him to summon meetings.⁸⁰ A lustration ceremony officially closed the census taking process.

As a religious people, it was important to the Romans that they actively maintained the goodwill of the gods for the continued health and prosperity of their *Res Publica*. In keeping with the responsibilities of his office of *ensor* and his public spirited approach, Imperator Caesar began restoring the temples which had become derelict from years of neglect beginning with the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius located above the *Forum Romanum* on the Palatinus Hill, and which at this

time stood roofless.⁸¹ In this modestly sized sacred building, regarded by many Romans as the city's first temple dating back to Romulus, successful generals had brought back their war spoils in gratitude to Jupiter for enabling their victories, the great M. Claudius Marcellus among them. Augustus' personal favourite god, Apollo, received particular attention. He dedicated a temple to him on the Palatinus Hill close to his own house, complete with colonnaded square and a library.⁸² To involve the populace, a festival and games were organized in honour of Apollo Actius. During the period of post-war euphoria, the Senate had voted games to be held in honour of Caesar and his victory at the Battle of Actium.⁸³ The first of these was held this year, which Caesar and Agrippa attended in person.⁸⁴ During this celebration the boys and men of the nobility took part in the Circensian Games, held in a specially constructed wooden stadium erected for the purpose in the *Campus Martius*, comprising a gymnastic contest and gladiatorial combats between captives. The festivities lasted several days, but when Augustus was taken ill, Agrippa continued attending the games to represent them both. The altruism of Caesar and Agrippa contrasted greatly with the excessively self-indulgent approach of disgraced *triumvir* Antonius.

The process of political reforms now moved into a higher gear. For months Caesar and his close friends had been quietly discussing a profound transformation and redistribution of power that would be presented as the republic restored to the People of Rome. He would be careful to present the transition as a process involving the Senate and Roman People in a collective effort of support for the *Res Publica* intended for the good of all.⁸⁵ The extent of Agrippa's involvement in developing the proposal for reform of the government is not known, but it is likely to have been very great.⁸⁶ In 27 BCE Agrippa assumed the consulship for the third time (plate 26), with Caesar, for the seventh.⁸⁷ The next phase of the reform plan was finally revealed on 13 January. In a carefully stage-managed manoeuvre, Caesar proffered his resignation from the Senate.⁸⁸ His supporters responded with agitated pleas for him to stay on. Others, aghast at what they were witnessing, were uncertain what to do. Even those who were not enthusiastic supporters of Caesar would prefer to keep the *status quo* rather than return to the conditions which had lead to decades of civil war. To entice him, many in the Senate offered him authority as

proconsul over Rome's dominions abroad – effectively giving him control of the Roman Empire save for Italy. Without hesitation, Caesar accepted. It is interesting to note that Dio reports that, aware of the risk to himself, Caesar's first act was to secure a decree granting to the men who would serve as his bodyguard double the pay given to the regular soldiers, so that his person would be strictly guarded.⁸⁹

Three days later, with Agrippa sitting in the Senate House beside him as fellow consul, Caesar presented his case for the division of the provinces. The empire was to be divided into proconsular and *propraetorian* territories, which Strabo calls respectively 'provinces of the People' and 'provinces of Caesar'.⁹⁰ The Senate would retain control of the proconsular provinces, which were largely the prosperous administrative areas around the Mediterranean, comprising Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian districts, Sicily, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of Libya, Bithynia with Pontus which adjoined it, Sardinia and Baetica.⁹¹ The governors of these provinces would be proconsuls picked by lot on an annual basis by the Senate. In partnership with the Senate, and initially only for a period of ten years, Caesar agreed to take sole responsibility for the *propraetorian* – the so-called imperial provinces – located mostly on the frontiers with the legal right to appoint the men to run them.⁹² These men were his hand-picked *legati*, each deputized to act in Caesar's name and served him for a period of three years. The Senate acceded to his request. He now had direct control of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, the three Gallic provinces of Aquitania, Comata and Belgica, Narbonensis, Coele-Syria, Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus and newly acquired Aegyptus.⁹³ Significantly the majority of the legions and auxiliary units were stationed in the imperial provinces, effectively giving Caesar direct control of the army (*exercitus*) too.⁹⁴ Yet Caesar agreed to share control of the public treasury, accepting responsibility to pay for the repairs to the *Via Flaminia* himself while the Senate agreed to pay for the upkeep of all other roads in Italy.⁹⁵

For his generosity and willingness to term limit his powers, Caesar was voted the honorific title *Augustus*, a word meaning 'the revered one'.⁹⁶ The name did not carry any legal power as such – he already had authority (*auctoritas*) derived from his military achievements and direct association with the Divine Iulius, and power (*potestas*) by

virtue of being a tribune – but it did come with the soft power derived from its religious connotation, indicating that a person was sacred or worthy of worship.⁹⁷ Henceforth it was the name by which he was called during his own times, and is still best known today. Emperor Caesar Augustus *Divi filius* was also voted a raft of new honours, using symbols designed to evoke age old traditions. As the man who, by his deeds, had saved the lives of so many fellow citizens – *ob cives servatos* – he was permitted to grow a laurel tree outside his house on the Palatinus Hill, and from his front door he could hang a wreath made of leafy oak twigs, emblems which were promoted on coins.⁹⁸ The Senate granted him the right to display the *clipeus virtutis*, a golden ‘Shield of Virtue’, in the *Curia*, upon which were inscribed his cardinal virtues of courage, clemency, justice and duty.⁹⁹ About the same time, to make his new allegiance absolutely clear, in Iudaea a grateful Herodes celebrated the Battle of Actium with games of his own. It mattered not that he had been on Antonius’ side at the time. He also founded a new city designed in the Hellenistic style and called it Sebastia.¹⁰⁰

The year 27 BCE had been an important one for Augustus and Agrippa. The heir of Iulius Caesar had achieved much of what his adoptive father had in securing power for himself, but without losing his life in accomplishing it. Sensitive to accusations that the constitutional arrangement was a thin veneer disguising what was in practice virtually an autocracy, Augustus decided to leave Rome before winter set in. He would be away for three years, addressing myriad matters in his imperial provinces in the west. In his absence he entrusted the running of the city to the one man who above all others he could trust, M. Agrippa. The decision Agrippa had made to stand by his friend had paid off and seventeen years later he had the ear and confidence of the most powerful man in the empire. Where Augustus had used the last three years to reform Rome’s political structure, Agrippa would use the next three to transform the city itself.

A City of Marble

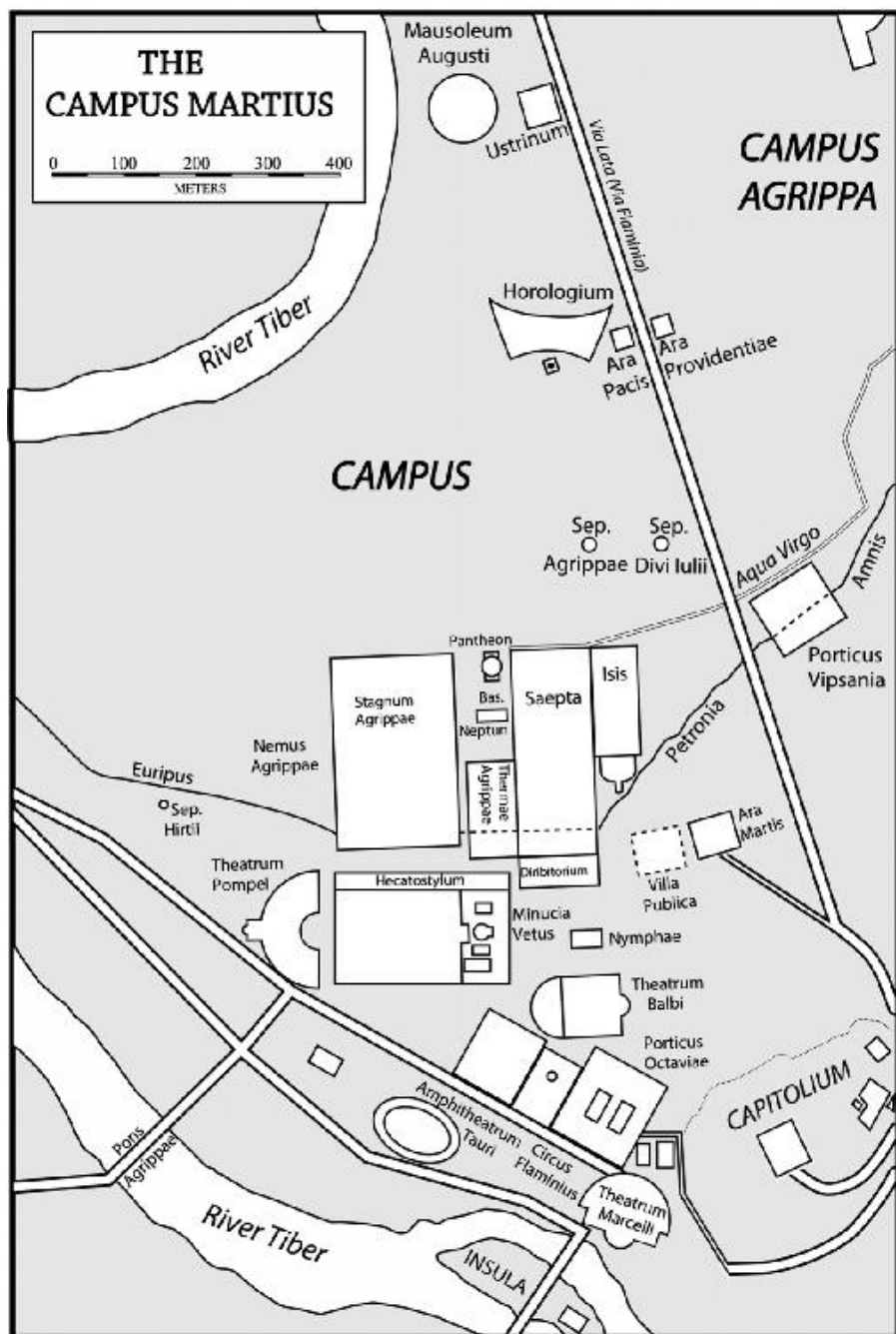
In the opinion of the Roman polymath Pliny the Elder, Agrippa was ‘a man who was naturally more attached to rustic simplicity than to refinement’.¹⁰¹ The evidence, however, actually points to a more refined artistic sensibility. The man who had proved himself to be a

great organizer of men and materials, whether building fleets or fixing sewers, was a collector of fine art, but not for his own exclusive enjoyment. His position as aedile provided him the opportunity to encourage a broader appreciation of paintings and statues across Roman society. Agrippa gave a speech, much admired by Pliny, but which no longer survives, ‘on the advantage of exhibiting in public all pictures and statues – a practice which would have been far preferable to sending them into banishment at our country-houses’.¹⁰² He purchased sculptures to adorn his own buildings and also ordered small paintings to be set in marble in the very hottest room of his public baths where they remained on view until they were removed during repairs.¹⁰³

Agrippa’s attention turned to the *Campus Martius*, the area of open ground dedicated to Mars in the northwest outside Rome’s *pomerium* and city walls.¹⁰⁴ There had been an altar to Mars (*Ara Martis*) at the southwestern end of the *Campus* as early as the time of legendary King Numa.¹⁰⁵ It was actually a plain formed by a meander in the Tiber River on the western side, the Pincius Hill on the east, the Capitoline Hill on the south and Quirinalis Hill on the southeast. The unforgivingly straight line of the *Via Flaminia* sliced through the park on the east side. The area was prone to flooding when the river burst its banks – as it frequently did – and almost at its centre there was a swamp, the *Palus Caprae*, where the water did not entirely drain away.¹⁰⁶ Iulius Caesar had considered plans to use civil engineering to change the course of the Tiber River, not to prevent flooding but rather to enlarge the ‘Field of Mars’ for other uses.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, a single solitary source states that Agrippa did succeed in altering the course of the Tiber River.¹⁰⁸ If indeed he did, he may have used plans originally created for Iulius Caesar, or he may have commissioned his own.

In Agrippa’s day the *Campus* was still regularly used as a public pasture, but its extensive and largely undeveloped area provided natural ground to gather together the citizens in the public act of voting in their *comitia centuriata* or to be counted in the census, to assemble them to perform drills in their designated military units, as well as for them to indulge in private leisure activities such as athletics and swimming.¹⁰⁹ The *Campus* was one of the last public spaces left where vast new edifices with spectacular vistas could be erected without having to demolish existing buildings.¹¹⁰ Recognizing

its appeal, in 55 BCE Pompeius Magnus had picked a spot on the south side to build Rome's first stone theatre, a large hemicyclic structure (*Theatrum Pompeii*) modelled after the one at Mytilene, which still dominated its featureless landscape twenty-eight years later.¹¹¹ In 28 BCE Augustus had broken ground on a plot in the far north corner of the plain beside the *Via Flaminia* to erect his mausoleum, a tiered tumulus-style grave which would be the resting place for himself, his family and a few select friends.¹¹² Agrippa himself had grand designs on taming the unkempt area between these great structures with a complex of monumental buildings, cultivated parks and walkways decorated with sculptures and paintings for the enjoyment of all Romans ([map 11](#)). He personally owned a large tract of land, the *Campus Agrippae*, along the east bank of the river with a private road and it was probably at this time that he ordered work to begin on erecting a bridge over the river at his own expense.¹¹³ The *Pons Agrippae* – probably owned by Agrippa during his lifetime, but made accessible by the public in accordance with Roman law – provided the first direct link between the central area of the *Campus Martius* and the *Trans Tiberim* (Trastevere) on the west bank of the Tiber, which, likely because of the proximity of the bridge, would soon grow into a large warehousing and residential district.¹¹⁴ Excavations by Luigi Borsari in the 1880s revealed that the bridge spanned three arches mounted on four boat-shaped piers fixed in the river.¹¹⁵ The date of the bridge's completion is not known for certain, but as it would have provided a convenient way to transport the vast quantities of construction materials delivered by ship and unloaded on the west bank of the Tiber over to the *Campus*, a date of 28/27 BCE seems likely. The plain would be a busy construction site for most of 28 through 25 BCE.



Map 11. The Buildings of Agrippa in the Campus Martius.

‘Meanwhile’, writes Dio, ‘Agrippa beautified the city at his own expense.’¹¹⁶ He states that in the year 26 BCE, rather than undertaking to repair a road, instead Agrippa ‘dedicated the structure called the *Saepta*’.¹¹⁷ In so doing he was completing a dream of Iulius Caesar who had envisioned a new building as early as 54 BCE to replace the aging ‘*Ovile*’ – or ‘sheep pen’, as it was affectionately known – where Romans gathered in their *comitia tributa* to vote at election time.¹¹⁸ The *triumvir* Lepidus had begun work on the building, but now that he was disgraced, it took Agrippa to finish it.¹¹⁹ The prioritization of this building project over others is revealing. In the wake of the constitutional arrangement, choosing to rebuild the *Saepta* clearly demonstrated the régime’s full commitment to free elections within Rome’s republican democracy. Its official name, the *Saepta Iulia*, acknowledged Iulius Caesar’s original plans but, by dint of his family connection, it emphasized Augustus’ support of the institution for which it was built. It was a large rectangular enclosure, measuring 310m (1,017ft) long by 120m (393ft) wide, surrounded by a covered colonnade to protect voters from rain or rays of the sun.¹²⁰ Rather than leaving its walls plain, Agrippa adorned the new structure with marble tablets and paintings to provide a pleasant space for voters to enjoy while they cast their ballots and to encourage people to visit and linger at other times of the year.¹²¹ Some of the finest, and costliest, sculptures decorated its interior space:

No less is the uncertainty that prevails as to the authors of the statues now to be seen in the *Septa*; an Olympus and Pan, and a Charon and Achilles; and yet their high reputation has caused them to be deemed valuable enough for their keepers to be made answerable for their safety at the cost of their own lives.¹²²

Adjoining the *Saepta* on the south side was the vote counting office (*Diribitorium*) built anew by Agrippa for the officials (*diribitores*) and returning officer, which Pliny the Elder included on his list of ‘our magnificent constructions’ of Rome in his day.¹²³ Dio remarks that the *Diribitorium* was the largest building under a single roof ever constructed.¹²⁴ It was supported by beams of larch of a maximum length of 30.5m (100ft) and 0.5m (1.5ft) thickness – Pliny knew because one of the logs deemed ‘too large to be used in the building’

was still kept in the *Saepta* as a curiosity when he saw it.¹²⁵ The ambitious size of the roof would push first century Roman building technology to its limits and Agrippa would never see it finished in his lifetime.¹²⁶

Close by the *Saepta*, Agrippa erected a large covered hall called the Basilica of Neptunus (*Basilica Neputini*), measuring approximately 45m × 19m (147ft × 62ft).¹²⁷ Dio explains that it was dedicated ‘in honour of the naval victories’ and for ‘added brilliance’ it was decorated with paintings of the adventures of the Argonauts.¹²⁸ When its doors opened to the public in 25 BCE it soon became better known by its popular name of the *Argonautarum*. Neither the exact plan of the complex nor its function is well understood. The building may have adjoined a colonnaded portico which acquired the name *Porticus Argonautarum* – and became one of the city’s most popular meeting places – but a fourth century document describes a *porticum Argonautarum et Meleagri* which might indicate that one wing of the building was decorated with depictions of Jason and his crew, and the opposite with paintings of Meleager’s life and adventures.¹²⁹

Next to the Basilica Agrippa erected a gymnasium – an exercise hall with a colonnaded courtyard providing fitness enthusiasts with a covered place in which to work out all year round – called the ‘Spartan Sweatbath’ (*sudatorium Laconicum*). Dio explains that he ‘gave the name “Laconian” to the gymnasium because the Lacedaemonians [Spartans] had a greater reputation at that time than anybody else for stripping and exercising after anointing themselves with oil’.¹³⁰ This style of bathing was similar to the modern Finnish sauna. Heat was transmitted from furnaces under the suspended floors and through flues in the walls. The floors of the building were made of concrete and tile and raised on brick pillars (*pilae*). The walls were built with columns of hollow brick pipes at intervals from below the floor to the roof. Outside, furnaces created a flow of hot air which circulated under the floor and up the flues. Slaves toiled to keep the fires burning to maintain the heat at a constant level. Above ground, bathers rubbed their skin with olive oil, sat in the heat and perspired, then removed the sweat off their skin using a curved bronze scraper (*strigil*) and finally dived into a cold plunge pool to close the pores.¹³¹

This was to be the first phase of a much larger bathing, rest and relaxation complex. To provide it with fresh water, a source had to be

found outside the city. Agrippa's surveyors were despatched to find one. They found it on the east side of the city on land owned by Licinius Lucullus.¹³² The story is preserved by Frontinus who writes,

a young girl indicated certain water veins to the soldiers who were hunting for water, and the diggers who were to pursue them summoned up an enormous quantity of water. A painting which represents this origin is displayed in a small shrine set up near the source.¹³³

In honour of the girl the aqueduct was named *Aqua Virgo*, the 'Aqueduct of the Virgin'. The sixth to bring water directly into Rome, the aqueduct would take several years to construct. Its route began at the eighth milestone outside Rome and followed the *Via Collatina*.¹³⁴ Apparently to avoid residential areas it would course over public land through the north of the city, but the decision to do so would add substantially to the length of the structure, the construction time and its expense, which Agrippa personally bore.¹³⁵

Agrippa's last building to be dedicated during this period, and his most dramatic, was a monument which he intended would have special significance for the new régime:

Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but ... the emperor would not accept either honour.¹³⁶

Had Augustus not been so politically sensitive, the building might have been called the *Augusteum* rather the *Pantheum* or Pantheon as we know it today. The name derives from the Greek word Πάνθειον: first attested in 59 CE, the name indicates it was a sacred space for 'all gods', not just the best known twelve of the Roman state.¹³⁷ Dio specifically states 'it has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus' but adds that when Augustus refused to allow a statue of himself to be erected inside, Agrippa 'placed in the temple itself a statue of the former [Iulius] Caesar'.¹³⁸ For Augustus it was too early in his principate to imply his own divinity. It was not that he was averse to worship of his own living person, for he had already permitted non-Romans to do so at sacred precincts in Pergamum and

in Nikomedia, but there was potential for real scandal in implying that it was an obligation on all Roman citizens, especially ones in politically sensitive Rome.¹³⁹ Worship of Roma and Caesar as divinities among Roman citizens, however, he both permitted and encouraged, such as at the new Temple of Caesar in the *Forum Romanum* he had consecrated in 29 BCE, and at dedicated shrines in Ephesus and Nikaia (Nicaea).¹⁴⁰ The statues of Augustus – holding a spear – and Agrippa intentionally stood *outside* in the *pronaos* or porch, presumably flanking great bronze doors to the *cella*, the sacred space enclosed within.¹⁴¹

The Pantheon Agrippa built is a conundrum – one of antiquity's greatest mysteries, in fact. The building which stands in Rome today is not Agrippa's. It is the third version, rebuilt by Hadrian in 120 CE.¹⁴² The original appearance of the Pantheon is still a matter of conjecture. Excavations conducted during the late-1800s revealed that the foundations laid down by Agrippa – huge blocks of travertine and covered with marble – were 2.5m (8.2ft) below the present Hadrianic structure (fig. 4).¹⁴³ One theory proposes that the building faced south and was T-shaped in plan, like the Temple of Concord in the *Forum Romanum*, its porch (*pronaos*) measuring 21.3m (69.9ft) wide, the main platform being 43.8m (143.7ft) wide and 19.8m (65ft) deep.¹⁴⁴ The other, more recent, theory suggests the Pantheon of Agrippa and that of Hadrian were actually closely aligned – both facing north – perhaps differing only in that the original was fully open to the sky like a precinct, as several Greek and Seleucid models are known to have been, or it was covered with a tiled roof, rather than the concrete dome which crowns it today.¹⁴⁵ This alignment would also imply that the architect fully intended anyone standing in the building, turning around and looking out from Agrippa's Pantheon would have had an unobstructed view across the *Campus Martius* to the Mausoleum of Augustus located 700m (2,296ft) directly to the north.¹⁴⁶

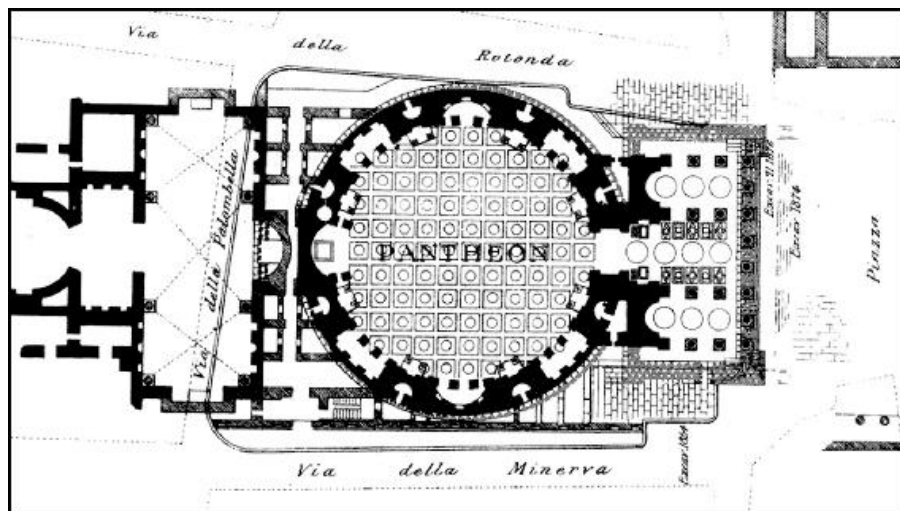


Figure 4. Excavations in the nineteenth century established that older foundations exist below the present Pantheon, which are presumed to be of Agrippa's original building.

The Pantheon's joint square and circle plan was not unique, but there was only one other building in Rome at the time with a porch in front of a rotunda, which is the so-called 'Temple B' in the Largo Argentina whose builder and purpose is unknown.¹⁴⁷ The round enclosed sacred space of the cult building, with a diameter of some 18.9m (62ft), echoed the domed *tholos* of earlier times in Greece, more usually associated with burial. The door, which opened into the rotunda, was reached by six steps covered by a colonnaded porch formed of a row of single columns of stucco covered tufa, about 11.5m (38ft) wide, providing cover or shade as dictated by the weather. The Pantheon differs in its scale and detail. In the present arrangement the *pronaos* of the Pantheon has three rows of Corinthian columns, eight of grey granite in the front row and four of pink granite imported at great expense from Mons Claudianus (modern Gebel Fitery) and Syene (Aswan) respectively in Egypt in each of the second and third, which may possibly have been salvaged from Agrippa's original Pantheon and reused in the later rebuilds (fig. 5).¹⁴⁸ The columns are 40 Roman feet high and weigh up to 100 tons each. The exterior adornments of the Pantheon attracted the attention of Pliny the Elder who saw it in the first century CE just as its original builder had erected it:

The Pantheon of Agrippa has been decorated by Diogenes of Athens, and the Caryatides, by him, which form the columns of that temple, are looked upon as masterpieces of excellence: the same, too, with the statues that are placed upon the *fastigium*, though, in consequence of the height, they have not had an opportunity of being so well appreciated.¹⁴⁹



Figure 5. Piranesi's drawing of the Pantheon as it was in 1756 displays the inner structure of the *pronaos*. Hadrian may have reused materials from Agrippa's original Pantheon in the extensive rebuilding after its destruction by fire.

The presence of a *fastigium* – a Latin word meaning ‘slope’ or ‘summit’ but which refers to the triangular structure above the *pronaos* – suggests it was similar in appearance to the pediment of Hadrian’s Pantheon, and thus its front elevation was traditional and Greek in style.¹⁵⁰ The enclosed space in a pediment was often filled with statues depicting mythological stories of gods or heroes. The design scheme created by Diogenes of Athens for the decorations is entirely lost. However, the statues Pliny refers to may have been placed not in, but on top of the *fastigium*, located on platforms at each end and on the apex, which were common features of Roman public buildings and are often depicted in images of temples shown on coins.

The reason for Diogenes’ choice of caryatids as columns is not clear. The Roman architect Vitruvius writes,

Unless acquainted with history, he will be unable to account for the use of many ornaments which he may have occasion to introduce. For instance; should any one wish for information on the origin of those draped matronal figures crowned with a *mutulus* and cornice, called Caryatides, he will explain it by the following history. Carya, a city of Peloponnesus, joined the Persians in their war against the Greeks. These in return for the treachery, after having freed themselves by a most glorious victory from the intended Persian yoke, unanimously resolved to levy war against the Caryans. Carya was, in consequence, taken and destroyed, its male population extinguished, and its matrons carried into slavery. That these circumstances might be better remembered, and the nature of the triumph perpetuated, the victors represented them draped, and apparently suffering under the burthen with which they were loaded, to expiate the crime of their native city. Thus, in their edifices, did the ancient architects, by the use of these statues, hand down to posterity a memorial of the crime of the Caryans.¹⁵¹

As Pliny describes them, the caryatid-shaped columns would likely have appeared as they do in the ‘Kore Porch’ (Porch of the Maidens) of the *Erechtheion* on the Acropolis of Athens. The *Erechtheion* offers an interesting analogue for the Pantheon. The main building was sacred to Athena Polias and Poseidon Erechtheos with adjoining sacred

precincts for holy relics, which included the score marks left by Poseidon's trident as it struck the acropolis, an olive tree, and various altars to Hephaistos and an Athenian hero named Boutos.¹⁵² In the *Erechtheion* the draped caryatid figures form the shafts of six columns with Ionic capitals above their heads. In Agrippa's building these shapely columns may have supported the roof of the *pronaos* or surrounded the main wall of the rotunda as the regular fluted columns do in the round, roofed Temple of Hercules Victor in the *Forum Boarium* or the tholos-style 'Temple B' in the Largo Argentina in Rome.¹⁵³ From the outside Agrippa's Pantheon may have looked like the Thomas Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., designed by the architect John Russell Pope and completed in 1943, though its rotunda is surrounded by Ionic columns, not caryatids.¹⁵⁴ That building is open on all sides to let in light and air. The caryatids of Agrippa's building may have stood on a low wall – like the *Erechtheion* – forming the rotunda which supported a tiled roof, unless the space was left open to the sky.

The entrance to the original structure may once have borne the now famous inscription:

M· AGRIPPA ·L· F·COS· TERTIVM· FECIT¹⁵⁴

M. Agrippa, son of Lucius, Consul three times, made [this].

However, the bronze letters on the present building (plate 17) are faithful modern copies – even the iconic pediment with its entablature, which today bears them, probably does not date from Agrippa's time.¹⁵⁵ The inscription may have been designed specifically for the Hadrianic edifice as a homage to its original builder, since he is known to have scrupulously retained original dedications after he restored buildings.¹⁵⁶ The formula of the inscription is problematic for a temple. One scholar has pointed out that it does not specify a god, as would be expected of a temple, that it is not a votive dedication, nor actually a dedication at all.¹⁵⁷ One compelling theory identifies the Pantheon as a monument commemorating Agrippa's victorious *land* battles, dedicated to Mars, complementing as it does the neighbouring *Basilica Neputini*, dedicated to Neptunus, which celebrated his successes at *sea*.¹⁵⁸ Placing the statues of Agrippa and Augustus outside, as the joint victors, makes sense in this context. The figure of Iulius Caesar, located close by the entrance, would have represented a

divine link between the mortal men outside and the Olympian gods Mars and Venus inside.¹⁵⁹ Further it is possible the statue of Iulius Caesar gazed out across the *Campus* to the final resting place of the man who inherited his name. The *Fasti Frati Arvalum*, a list of public holy days, maintained by the Arval Brothers – the aristocratic organization which came to be responsible for sacrifices on behalf of the imperial family and of which Agrippa was a member – shows an entry made some time after 12 BCE in the addendum for 23 September for gods in the *Campus Martius*:

HOLY DAYS BY DECREE OF THE SENATE ON THE BIRTHDAY
OF IMPERATOR CAESAR AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS:
MARS, NEPTUNUS IN THE CAMPUS; APOLLO AT THE
THEATRE OF MARCELLUS.¹⁶⁰

Significantly all three gods listed – divine patrons of Augustus and Agrippa – are the *di Actii* associated with victory in the Actian War.¹⁶¹ As the Pantheon was paid for by Agrippa, he may have always intended it to be a private shrine (*sacrum privatum*) and not a public temple (*aedes publica*), since he did not arrange for it to be consecrated according to religious law; but he did make it – like the Basilica of Neptunus – accessible by the public.¹⁶² Augustus' Temple to Apollo Actius located beside his own house on the Palatinus was also such a private shrine. As Roman public opinion did not approve of victory celebrations over fellow Romans – Sex. Pompeius and M. Antonius in Agrippa's case – erecting the Basilica and Pantheon was a politically acceptable way for him to mark his military successes and to express his gratitude to the appropriate gods.¹⁶³ Yet it is also possible that the iconic inscription, which has come to symbolize the building, may not have been what Agrippa originally wrote on it at all.¹⁶⁴ The original appearance and meaning of Agrippa's Pantheon remain frustratingly enigmatic.

The design of the interior space of Agrippa's Pantheon is also a mystery. The present rotunda has a diameter of 43.3m – 2.3 times that of Temple B in the Largo Argentina. Curious is that Pliny's description of the original building focuses on the art decorating the front, yet he says nothing of the main structure, whereas Dio specifically mentions the vaulted roof of the later structure which he says 'resembles the heavens'.¹⁶⁵ Pliny was writing about the building dating from

Agrippa's time and his silence about the interior of the rotunda, in comparison to Dio who was describing the Hadrianic rebuild, perhaps hints at a restrained style of decoration – one suited to the rustic sensibility of its client – that did not merit particular comment. Unless new sources dating to antiquity are found, it is unlikely we will ever know what a visitor to the original Pantheon saw shortly after its opening when he went inside.

It may have been during this period that the foundations were laid for Agrippa's own final resting place. Called the *Sepulchrum* or *Aedes Agrippae* (fig. 12) its exact location is not known with certainty, though if the remaining letters on fragments of the so-called 'Marble Map of Rome' dating to the later Severan period are of this monument, it may have stood between the *villa Publica* and the Baths of Agrippa in the modern Via del Gesù.¹⁶⁶ It may have been built using marble shipped in from Agrippa's own quarries located in Phrygia.¹⁶⁷

The question inevitably arises about how much Agrippa was personally involved in these civil engineering projects? As he was paying for the works out of his own pocket he must have taken a very active interest, at least selecting the architects and agreeing the designs, contributing ideas about the features or critiquing the final appearance of the buildings. Based on his earlier enthusiasm as aedile for hydraulic engineering projects, in which he is known to have inspected Rome's main sewer or the *Portus Iulius* in person, he was probably a regular visitor to the construction sites, checking on the quality of building materials and encouraging the civil engineers, craftsmen and labourers on-site to work harder and faster. This would have been particularly true of the Pantheon where the building may have had his own name on it. Agrippa would likely have consulted Augustus before he departed about his intentions for the development of the *Campus*: seemingly everything he did was done with his friend's best interests in mind, and carried out with his approval.

Loyalties and Rivalries

What motivated Agrippa to spend his own money on these lavish edifices in the *Campus* and to dedicate them to memorializing the cause of Augustus? Dio suggests that he did it 'not out of any rivalry or ambition on Agrippa's part to make himself equal to Augustus, but

from his hearty loyalty to him and his constant zeal for the public good'; Augustus' response to his friend's *fidelitas* and *humanitas* 'so far from censuring him for it, honoured them the more'.¹⁶⁸ Augustus knew only too well how fortunate he was to have such a friend in whom he had absolute trust.

It must have been clear to all that of his closest friends and advisers Agrippa was now Augustus' right-hand man. He had proved more loyal than Salvidienus, and he had exceeded Messala and Taurus in carrying out his missions. Yet Augustus also favoured the friendship of Maecenas. Historian Velleius Paterculus describes Maecenas as a man:

of equestrian rank, but none the less of illustrious lineage, a man who was literally sleepless when occasion demanded, and quick to foresee what was to be done and skilful in doing it, but when any relaxation was allowed him from business cares would almost outdo a woman in giving himself up to indolence and soft luxury. He was not less loved by Caesar than Agrippa, though he had fewer honours heaped upon him, since he lived thoroughly content with the narrow stripe of the equestrian order.¹⁶⁹

Where Agrippa had doggedly fought to ensure Augustus was the victor of the civil wars, Maecenas had been the reliable representative back in Rome, tirelessly standing up to his pro-Antonian foes. While Agrippa had built harbours for a navy and fortifications for an army, Maecenas built a network of financiers and politicians; but he also assembled a team comprised of the best talent in Latin creative writing.¹⁷⁰ Words and music would be their weapons in the war of ideas. Sometime before 37 BCE he had met Vergilius Maro and was deeply impressed by his work. Vergil showed his gratitude by dedicating the *Georgics* to him, which he finished in 29 BCE. Vergil, in turn, introduced him to another up and coming poet, Horatius Flaccus (Horace). Also benefiting from Maecenas' patronage were Propertius, and the lesser poets Domitius Marsus, Varius Rufus, Valgius Rufus and Plotius Tucca. Soon Maecenas became known as a patron for the greatest poets of the new age of Augustus.

What, then, was the manner of Agrippa's relationship with Maecenas? It was probably not an easy one. There is an implication in

one surviving account that Agrippa was no great lover of florid writing with obscure words. Suetonius mentions a M. Vipsanius who could be our M. Agrippa. He is reported to have:

called Vergil a superstitious child of Maecenas, that inventor of a new kind of affected language, neither bombastic nor of studied simplicity, but in ordinary words and hence less obvious.¹⁷¹

That somewhat contemptuous view of artifice in language would, however, be consistent with Agrippa's known preference for rustic simplicity in architecture, painting and sculpture.¹⁷² In many ways, the two men were diametric opposites: Agrippa, the man from an undistinguished family from outside Rome, compares with Maecenas, the descendant of Etruscan aristocracy and a respectable bloodline; Agrippa, a man willing to put himself in harm's way on land and sea in pursuit of victory for his friend, in contrast to Maecenas, who stayed in Italy, using personal connections and persuasion to build a consensus favourable to the cause he supported; Agrippa, the master builder and commissioner of works shaping great structures in wood, brick, stone and marble which brought water and visual beauty to the city, as opposed to Maecenas, a curator of poets, a lover of self-indulgent pleasures and the easy life. Their only common ground was their friendship with Augustus. It did not mean they had to like each other. While there is no direct evidence of conflict between the two men, it is easy to imagine Agrippa at times feeling frustration with, or even contempt for, Maecenas for being a dandy and a rake, and Maecenas for perceiving Agrippa as a man lacking in sophistication and an appreciation for the finer things in life, as someone who did not know how to have fun.

There was little to enjoy where Augustus was residing. He was personally directing military operations in northern Spain, which he had initiated in the spring of 25 BCE from his base in Segisama (Sasamón). He hoped this would be the final phase in the conquest, completing a haphazard process which had begun in 218 BCE.¹⁷³ Successive campaigns had been undertaken by eager generals, but the gains had been won at high cost and the spoils to pay for them proved disappointing. Ambitious Roman consuls preferred to seek glory in the East, where rich rewards awaited and a commander could rather more

expeditiously gather political and financial capital to build up his personal prestige among his peers and provide for a comfortable life in retirement in a villa on the Campanian coast. The last corner of Hispania *libera* was inhabited by two proudly independent nations, the Astures and the Cantabri. Augustus believed that a concentrated military campaign would finally break the resistance of these people. So confident of victory was he that he took with him 18-year-old Ti. Claudius Nero, son of his wife Livia, to begin his military career as a *tribunus militum*.¹⁷⁴ Assisting him were his *legati* C. Antistius Vetus and P. Carisius, but the same source also mentions Agrippa was involved, which is problematic since he was in Rome at this time.¹⁷⁵ The Iberian nations proved quite able to stand up to the Romans. The legions' progress was impeded as heavily armed soldiers trained to fight in set piece battles on open plains were forced to fight a guerrilla-style war in the hills and valleys.¹⁷⁶ Then, as he so often did during wartime, Augustus fell ill. Dio suggests overexertion and anxiety, though typhoid is suspected.¹⁷⁷ He was swiftly transferred to Tarraco on the Mediterranean coast, where he remained in the care of Livia and his personal physician.¹⁷⁸

Meanwhile, in Rome, Augustus' 14-year-old daughter Iulia the Elder was due to marry his 17-year-old nephew, M. Claudius Marcellus (plate 27).¹⁷⁹ He had hoped to preside in person at the wedding, but his poor health prevented him from travelling on the long journey back to the city. To stand in his place and give away his daughter's hand to her new husband – a singular honour given Iulia was his only child – Augustus appointed Agrippa.¹⁸⁰ Augustus gradually recovered and, left the prosecution of the *Bellum Cantabricum et Astruricum* in the hands of his deputy Antistius, and the governance of the Roman province to L. Aemilius.¹⁸¹ It must have occurred to him that this was a job ideally suited for Agrippa, but for the time being he had other plans for his friend. The deflated commander-in-chief returned to Rome in 24 BCE. As he approached the city he sent ahead of him a letter promising 400 *sestertii* to each citizen but insisted it be approved by the Senate first before being made public.¹⁸² When he reached Rome new honours were given to him for his safe return by a grateful city.

It would have been a great relief for Agrippa to be able to greet his friend again. In another mark of Augustus' gratitude and friendship,

when the house on the Palatinus, which had belonged to Antony but had later been given jointly to Agrippa and Messalla, burned down, Augustus gave money to Messalla, but insisted that Agrippa move into his own house.¹⁸³ Dio writes ‘Agrippa not unnaturally took great pride in these honours’.¹⁸⁴

The scare caused by Augustus’ debilitating sickness raised the uncomfortable issue of what would happen when he died. Speculation turned to Marcellus, who was seen by many as the rising star in the imperial family. On Augustus’ return to Rome Marcellus was granted several privileges and promotions aimed at accelerating his political career, perhaps even with him as successor in mind.¹⁸⁵ Young and inexperienced, he was also given the right to become a senator among the *expraetors* and to stand for the consulship ten years earlier than was customary.¹⁸⁶ These concessions were also extended to Livia’s sons Tiberius and Nero Claudius Drusus – who Augustus had not adopted as his own – who were permitted to stand for each magisterial office on the career ladder five years before the regular age; Tiberius was at once elected *quaestor*, while Marcellus was appointed *aedile*.¹⁸⁷ Agrippa was 30-years-old when he first became *aedile*, so it was quite an extraordinary concession to the ‘mere strippling’, as Tacitus calls the young man.¹⁸⁸ Augustus’ seeming favouritism for his nephew over his best friend caused some to speculate on trouble later:

People thought that, if anything should happen to Caesar, Marcellus would be his successor in power, at the same time believing, however, that this would not fall to his lot without opposition from M. Agrippa.¹⁸⁹

Other than Paterculus, no other Roman historian makes this assertion, but writing around a half century after the events, he may have had access to contemporary records later historians did not which mentioned the rumours. What people thought, of course, may not have been what Agrippa himself thought. If, in fact, Agrippa did harbour resentments towards the young man, scrupulous to a fault, he kept them private. Augustus, for his part, was smart enough to realize that his nephew had much to learn and that he was very far from ready to take on the mantle of supreme power.¹⁹⁰ Yet he was also keen to promote the notion of a *Res Publica* where men enjoyed

freedom, and to avoid creating the impression that he was founding a monarchical dynasty – regardless of whether his eventual successor was Marcellus or Agrippa. As Dio articulates the conundrum,

he either wished the People to regain their liberty or for Agrippa to receive the leadership from them. For he well understood that Agrippa was exceedingly beloved by them and he preferred not to seem to be committing the supreme power to him on his own responsibility.¹⁹¹

If Agrippa's ignoble origins were despised by the patricians, they played well with the plebs.

Chapter 6

Statesman of the Roman World

23–19 BCE

First Mission in the East

The year 23 BCE began without incident, but Augustus was now preoccupied by the issue of who would succeed him. The matter came to a head when Augustus, then in his fortieth year, fell ill again and this time it really did seem that he would die.¹ He put his affairs in good order and called a meeting of the magistrates, leading senators, certain *equites* and Agrippa. Those attending and expecting him to announce a successor – specifically Marcellus – were to be disappointed. Overcoming his nausea he talked with them awhile about the state of public affairs. He gave Calpurnius Piso copies of his written documents detailing the strength and locations of the armed forces and a statement of the public revenues.² Then he handed his signet ring to Agrippa. It may have been intended to simply demonstrate his confidence in his close friend, but others present reasonably inferred a deeper meaning: Agrippa was the heir apparent. Indeed, he would have been a popular choice had that been Augustus' intention, but the fact of the matter was 'he did not, to be sure, appoint a successor'.³

Augustus' health did not improve and he eventually lost the will to attend even to the most urgent matters.⁴ When the regular therapy of potions and prayers did not work, his personal physician Antonius Musa tried a different approach: a course of cold baths and cold medicines. Remarkably, the treatment worked and Augustus made a full recovery. Musa, a *libertus*, was handsomely rewarded with cash and certain privileges, including the ability to wear gold rings (normally denied to freedmen), and he was granted exemption from taxes, both for himself and his descendants, and also for the other members of his profession.

When he felt fit enough Augustus attended a session of the Senate in person.⁵ He went with the express intention of showing that he was alive and well, and in no need of a successor. He took with him his last will and testament but, as a mark of their confidence in his longevity and out of respect for his privacy, the senators would anyway not let him read aloud its contents. The occasion is known to modern historians as the ‘Second Constitutional Settlement’. The Senate now reconfirmed Augustus’ power to govern provinces, but enhanced it as *imperium maius*, and consented again to his *tribunicia potestas*, which would thereafter be renewed annually. In return, Augustus resigned the consulship and agreed he would no longer automatically assume the most senior magistracy at the start of the year. Probably at this time Agrippa was granted *imperium proconsulare*, though it is not explicitly stated so in the sources.⁶ This time-limited power gave him the authority to delegate duties to the *legati* personally appointed by Augustus in the imperial provinces.⁷



Map 12. Agrippa's Travels, 23–19 BCE.

The next we hear of Agrippa he has left Rome and is sojourning in Lesbos ([map 12](#)). The ancient historians are divided on the motive for the apparently sudden departure from Rome, giving rise to all manner of speculations. Drawing on rumour and hearsay, Velleius writes that the trip overseas was a cover for the real reason which was, ‘according to current gossip, [he] had withdrawn, for the time being, on account of his secret animosity for Marcellus.’⁸ In the *Life of the Divine Augustus*, Suetonius states that Augustus ‘occasionally found Agrippa lacking in patience ... because of a slight suspicion of coolness and of a preference shown for Marcellus, threw up everything and went off to Mytilene’.⁹ At face value, Agrippa had thrown a tantrum and stormed off; but then, in the *Life of Tiberius*, he tempers the motive as being ‘so that he [Agrippa] might not seem either to oppose or belittle him [Marcellus] by his presence’.¹⁰ Pliny the Elder ascribes a darker motive when he describes ‘the disgraceful banishment, as it were, of Agrippa’ inferring he left unwillingly on Augustus’ orders.¹¹ Tacitus presents Agrippa as tired from his constant exertions and keen to retire to rest, a request which Augustus grants.¹² Dio writes that, when Augustus recovered from his illness, he became aware that his young nephew was antagonistic towards his older friend and to remove the opportunity ‘for scoffing or for skirmishing’ to arise between the two in Rome, sent Agrippa to Syria.¹³ The best explanation for why Agrippa headed to the East is probably preserved by Josephus who, unaware of the alleged friction in the House of Augustus, writes simply that ‘Agrippa was sent to succeed Caesar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian Sea’.¹⁴ Without access to the full facts, those outside Augustus’ circle may indeed have read exile into the timing of Agrippa’s posting overseas, seeing it as a politically motivated forced retirement engineered to get him out of Rome and away from the young man being groomed to succeed the *princeps*.

There is another intriguing explanation for why Agrippa went East. In modern times, an elegant theory has been posited that he was actually sent on a secret diplomatic mission to seek redress for the defeats of Crassus and Antonius by the Parthians.¹⁵ This would not be a campaign using military force, however, but one using subtler methods. The rumours of a break up between the two friends over Marcellus provided a story to cover Agrippa’s covert diplomacy. This would also explain why Agrippa stayed in Mytilene but his legates

went to Syria. From there they could travel largely unnoticed to negotiate directly with the Parthian king or his interlocutors: military personnel were, after all, always going to the frontier zone. If Agrippa went his movements could not be concealed. The Romans had a bargaining chip. Two years earlier Augustus had received in Rome the usurper Tiridates who had taken the Parthian throne from the Great King Frahâta IV in a revolution, only to be ousted himself soon after by the king who had secured military assistance from the Scythians.¹⁶ He hoped to gain the support of the Roman head of state and brought with him the youngest son of Frahâta who he had snatched as a hostage. The opportunity presented itself to expunge a stain on Rome's honour. Augustus could not risk going himself to negotiate, but Agrippa could on his behalf. If the discreet talks came to nought, it would cause no great embarrassment and Augustus would not be blamed. If successful, the *princeps* would achieve without strife and bloodshed what two Roman commanders with great armies had not, and bolster his standing at home. It would appear that Agrippa succeeded. It is matter of historical fact that in the latter half of 23 BCE a deputation from the Great King arrived in Rome with a demand. They wanted the return of both Tiridates and the young prince. Augustus knew there was still leverage in holding the usurper and declined to hand him over, but he counter offered. He would agree to return the king's son in return for the surviving Roman captives and military standards ([plates 7](#) and [20](#)).¹⁷ The Parthian delegation returned to Ctesiphon to present the *princeps*' proposal to the Great King. Now a formal channel of communications was established between the two legitimate regimes and the Romans waited for a response.

The reality was likely about pragmatics. Having spent several years away following the 'First Constitutional Settlement', during which Agrippa had been the sole face of the new régime in Rome, now that Augustus was in good health again it was time for him to reassert himself onto the political and social scene. Both men did not need to be in the city at the same time. There was plenty of work to do and Agrippa's abundant talents were needed elsewhere. It was time to switch. Since Augustus had recently been active in the West, that meant assigning his deputy to the East, as indeed Josephus states. In his recognition of Agrippa's friendship and contribution, Augustus had

been very public. As for the allegations of friction between Marcellus and Agrippa, the track record of the older man attests to his maturity in comportment and emotional stability. If anyone, it was likely Marcellus who was in awe of his uncle's best friend and confidant, not the other way around.

That year the 19-year-old Marcellus enthusiastically took up his new post as aedile. He broke ground on a new theatre on land located south of the *Circus Flaminius* on the bank of the Tiber, which had been set aside by Iulius Caesar.¹⁸ It was envisaged as an imposing hemicycle of three tiers, two of elegant arches, and engaged columns with seating inside for up to 11,000.¹⁹ As was expected of an aedile, for the public's entertainment Marcellus laid on lavish games, partly paid for by his father-in-law.²⁰ With the aim of making the festivities memorable – every aedile's goal – the emphasis was on novelty. To shock, among the dancers taking the stage was a man from the *ordo equester* and a high-status woman, while to awe, the young magistrate had huge protective awnings hung overhead across the *Forum Romanum* to shield the spectators from the intense sun of the Italian summer.²¹ All who attended agreed the games were a brilliant success.²²

As a public figure Agrippa was the object of lampoons and satire. One such survives from that year. Perhaps sensing the changing fortune of Maecenas, Horace had been increasingly distancing himself from his patron, and had earned the personal favour of Augustus, and, as a result, the poet was likely known to his colleague. Taken at face value, the Sixth Ode (*Carmina*) of Book 1 the poet passes over the challenge of eulogizing Agrippa's – and Augustus' – military achievements in the style of Homer to his contemporary and friend L. Varius Rufus:

Not I, but Varius – he, of Homer's force
A tuneful swan, shall bear you on his wing,
Your tale of trophies, won by ship or horse,
Soldier led by you to sing.
Not mine such themes, Agrippa; no, nor mine
To chant the wrath that fill'd Pelides' breast,
Nor dark Ulysses' wanderings o'er the brine,
Nor Pelops' house unblest.

Vast were the task, I feeble; inborn shame,
And she, who makes the peaceful lyre submit,
Forbid me to impair great Caesar's fame
And yours by my weak wit.
But who may fitly sing of Mars array'd
In adamant mail, or Merion, black with dust
Of Troy, or Tydeus' son by Pallas' aid
Strong against gods to thrust?
Feasts are my theme, my warriors maidens fair,
Who with pared nails encounter youths in fight;
Be Fancy free or caught in Cupid's snare,
Her temper still is light.²³

The poet is playing etymological games, however, hinting that the verse is intended as a light hearted, tongue-in cheek piece.²⁴ He mocks himself for not being able to command the weighty language necessary to encompass the commander's great victories, but then he gently pokes fun at his subject too. Horace's word play relates to the third line (*quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis*) where the Latin words *ferox* ('savage') and *equis* ('horse', a poetic stand-in for the land army), can be directly translated into Greek equivalents as *αγρ* (ίος) and *ιππ* (α).²⁵ Educated Romans were fond of etymology, as the work of the prolific contemporary M. Terrentius Varro (116–27 BCE) shows, and they also believed Latin was a dialect of Greek. The joke requires the reader/listener to know that Agrippa's name can be split into the two Greek words *agr-* and *-ippa*. By explicitly choosing the word 'horse' rather than 'foot soldier' (*peditibus* – he uses *miles*, 'soldier', immediately after in the next line), he avoids implying the close alternative Greek word *πους* ('foot') which would evoke the unflattering 'feet first birth' meaning of the name *agrippa*.²⁶ Instead Horace infers a classier Hellenic origin for the man's name. When the poem was read for Agrippa's entertainment, Horace must have hoped he would enjoy his sophisticated wit. The proconsul's reaction on first hearing the work is not recorded.

Agrippa's mind was already focused on his next assignment. He 'did not reach Syria', writes Dio, but 'tarried himself in Lesbos'.²⁷ Situated in the northern Aegean Sea, just 320km (198 miles) off the coast of Asia (modern Turkey), the geographer Strabo described

Lesbos as ‘a very remarkable island’ and even the poet Horace lauded its beauty.²⁸ Its principal city was Mytilene (Mytilini) on the southeastern corner of the island. The city Agrippa would call home for most of the next two years was small but sophisticated (plate 25):

Mitylene has two harbours, of which the southern can be closed and holds only fifty triremes, but the northern is large and deep, and is sheltered by a mole. Off both lies a small island, which contains a part of the city that is settled there. And the city is well equipped with everything.²⁹

For its size, the city had produced a remarkable number of intellectual and artistic greats, including Pittakos (Pittacus), one of the Seven Wise Men, the poets Alkaios (Alcaeus) and Sappho, Diophanes the rhetorician, Potamon, Lesbokles (Lesbocles), Krinagoras (Crinagoras), and the historian and statesman Theophanes who befriended Pompeius Magnus and was a contemporary of Strabo.³⁰ It was a regular retreat for high status Romans.³¹ From here Agrippa could reach any part of the eastern empire by swift trireme.

In late summer, Agrippa received tragic news. The letter the courier brought from Rome explained that at the start of August Marcellus had died suddenly while in Baiae, the resort Agrippa had used as his base during the construction of *Portus Iulius*.³² Antonius Musa had tried his miracle cure of cold therapies, but this time it did not work.³³ The precise cause of his death is not known, but the typhoid epidemic of the previous year appears to have continued through 23 BCE, killing many in its wake. That fact did not prevent sceptical gossipers suspecting the hand of Livia Drusilla in Marcellus’ death, perceiving the careers of her own sons Tiberius and Nero Claudius Drusus as disadvantaged by him while he was alive.³⁴ Rome deeply mourned the loss of its young prince. A distraught Augustus presided over the funeral of his son-in-law, delivering the eulogy in person, placing his ashes in his own mausoleum, commissioning a statue of him in gilt-bronze and a golden crown, and requiring that a curule chair was to be carried in his honour into the theatre hosting the *Ludi Romani* and placed among its sponsors.³⁵ In memory of the deceased man, the theatre he had begun was named after him.³⁶ The poet Vergil added Marcellus to his epic *Aeneid* as one of the illustrious men Aeneas met in the underworld and readings of the great work

were given to Augustus and the boy's mother Octavia.³⁷ Instinctively Agrippa would have offered to return back to Rome to support his friend, but in the event he remained in the East.

Paterculus writes that Agrippa had 'set out for Asia on the pretext of commissions from the emperor', which aligns with Josephus' remark on the matter.³⁸ There was much to do in the eastern half of the empire. No one had been in overall command of the region since M. Antonius died in 30 BCE. The East continued to be a patchwork of directly ruled provinces and client kingdoms, such as Polemon king of Pontus who had been recognized as a friend and ally of the Romans in 26 BCE.³⁹ Roman civilian governors, drawn from the Senate, rotated through on three-year duties to proconsular provinces assigned them by lot. Dio notes Agrippa 'tarried himself in Lesbos' and adds 'instead, acting with even more than his usual moderation, he sent his deputies thither'.⁴⁰ His authority to delegate duties to the *legati* was embodied in the *imperium proconsulare* granted him by the Senate before he left Rome. As the most senior man in the region, Agrippa would certainly have been made aware of military and political developments and important people in the East would have made a point to visit him out of respect for him both as Augustus' representative and the second most important man in the Roman Empire.

One such was Herodes who knew the importance of maintaining personal political relationships and headed to Mytilene over the winter months specifically to meet 'his particular friend and companion', and then returned directly home to Iudea.⁴¹ In Herodes' case though, the Roman commander and Jewish king seemed to enjoy a friendship beyond the diplomatic. When Herodes returned to his capital at Hierosolyma (Jerusalem), he called the two most opulent rooms in the new palace he was building respectively Caesareum and Agrippaeum, after the eminent Romans.⁴²

Some emissaries arrived from the Greek-speaking community of Gadara (modern Umm Qais in northern Jordan) to accuse Herodes of various violations, but the uninvited visitors had misjudged the governor general's role and responsibilities.⁴³ Agrippa's ability to intervene in their case was curtailed by the fact that Herodes was a client king responsible for running the affairs of his own dominion according to its laws, and it was not for a Roman official to interfere without prior consultation unless the matter concerned Roman

citizens, or he was invited by the regent to do so.⁴⁴ Gadara had been placed under Herodes' care in 30 BCE by Emperor Caesar. Herodes owed his position to Rome. Under treaty, in return the king provided the Romans stability on the frontier, providing his own troops to guard it, advertised his connections with Rome by establishing cities and encouraged policies sympathetic with Rome's world view.⁴⁵ Respecting the boundary between obligation and independence was essential to sustaining an effective client-patron relationship. Thus, Josephus writes that Agrippa sent the Gadarenes 'back bound to the king without giving them the hearing'.⁴⁶

To those regents who had supported Antonius, after Actium Emperor Caesar had taken a lenient approach – to act punitively would have injected uncertainty, even chaos, to the region.⁴⁷ Just as Herodes had once been a loyal friend to Antonius, the expectation was that he would transfer that allegiance to Caesar Augustus, and so it proved to be.⁴⁸ In the Judaeen king Agrippa found a man of similar political and intellectual interests and passions. The political landscape of the region Agrippa was responsible for was not static, but an ever shifting network of relationships, some based on mutual respect, others self-interest. Upon the death of the client king or one of his descendants he might bequeath his realm to Rome. In this way, Romans often acquired territory without war. In 25 BCE, Amyntas – who had also supported Antonius at Actium – died and the kingdom of Galatia passed not to his sons, but to Rome; shortly after Galatia together with Lycaonia acquired a Roman governor, and the portions of Pamphylia previously assigned to Amyntas were restored to their own districts.⁴⁹ Supervising these transfers of power would have been one of Agrippa's responsibilities.

On account of its strategic importance as one of Rome's breadbaskets, the governance of province Egypt was uniquely different. It was governed by a prefect (*praefectus Aegypti*), handpicked by Augustus from the equestrian order on the basis of his knowledge of administration and the law, and for his military prowess. In 24 BCE *praefectus* Aelius Gallus had initiated a war against neighbouring Arabia Felix, of which Sabos was king.⁵⁰ Though Gallus at first encountered no opposition, he did not find the going easy. The combination of desert, the sun, and the strange quality of the water took its toll on his men, so much so that the larger part of the army

perished on the march.⁵¹ Dio describes a medical condition which ‘attacked the head and caused it to become parched, killing forthwith most of those who were attacked, but in the case of those who survived this stage it descended to the legs, skipping all the intervening parts of the body, and caused dire injury to them’.⁵² The cure was simple enough – a blend of olive oil and wine, taken orally and applied as an ointment – but few had access to the remedy. Finally attacked by the Arabians, Gallus had no choice but to sound the retreat.⁵³ Dio adds that:

These were the first of the Romans, and, I believe, the only ones, to traverse so much of this part of Arabia for the purpose of making war; for they advanced as far as the place called Athlula [modern Baraquis in Yemen], a famous locality.⁵⁴

Gallus was replaced that same year by C. (or P.) Petronius. In 22 BCE, he was dragged into a war – not of his making – with his neighbours to the south, the Kushite (or Nubian) kingdom of Meroë in Ethiopia.⁵⁵ The Kushites had raided deep into southern Egypt, reaching as far as the Island of Elephantine in the Nile and the city of Syene, taking captives and provocatively pulling down statues of Caesar Augustus.⁵⁶ Leading them was Amanirenas Kandake (Candace) who Strabo describes as ‘a masculine sort of woman, and blind in one eye’, which perhaps owes more to a general Roman stereotype of barbarian queens than represents an accurate portrait of her.⁵⁷ Petronius launched a devastating counterattack.⁵⁸ His army of 10,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry pillaged the north of Ethiopia, razing their capital Napata (modern Karima in Northern Sudan) and other cities.⁵⁹ As with Gallus before him, heat and desert prevented his troops from advancing further south and, after leaving a garrison on the border at Primis (present day Qasr Ibrim), he returned home. The Kushites then surrounded and attacked the garrison. Petronius returned again to deal with them, rescued his own men and compelled the Kandake to make terms with him, which included maintaining a permanent troop presence in the border region of the Dodekashoinos.⁶⁰ Despite the shortcomings of Gallus’ and Petronius’ missions, Augustus gave a positive spin to their adventures and still claimed credit for them.⁶¹

Agrippa was not one to sit idly. That was not his management style. From Mytilene he likely travelled to communities in nearby

Anatolia and further inland to the cities of Asia, and to Syria, the location of his official seat. Inscriptions have been found across the region which mention his name, though it is not certain they all date from this time or later.⁶² Many of these cities had sided with Antonius – some freely, others under duress – only a decade earlier. Agrippa's presence in the region would have given their city fathers the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to Augustus and by visiting them Agrippa showed that both sides were reconciled and spreading the message of the *Pax Augusta*, the Augustan Peace.⁶³

In Rome, Agrippa's closest friend was forced to intervene as the domestic situation deteriorated. In the spring of 22 BCE heavy rain had swollen the Tiber, which burst its banks and inundated parts of the city, and, writes the chronicler Dio ominously, 'many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus.'⁶⁴ It was followed in the summer by famine and plague, which afflicted all Italy.⁶⁵ Ascribing the crisis to the fact that Augustus was no longer consul and angered by the seeming inability of the authorities to deal with the growing crisis, a mob surrounded the *Curia* and demanded, while threatening to set fire to the building, that the Senate act by declaring Augustus *dictator*, granting him emergency powers, and giving him responsibility for the corn supply (*cura annonae*).⁶⁶ The Senate asked him to agree to both positions, but he knew instinctively that accepting the dictatorship was a dangerous option, carrying with it so many bad associations.⁶⁷ However, Augustus agreed to take charge of the *annona*, and immediately appointed two ex-praetors, elected annually thereafter, as commissioners to supervise the distribution of the grain dole.⁶⁸ (The Senate also offered Augustus the office of *ensor* for life, deferring to his judgement in this important role, but this he also refused, instead proposing Aemilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus to take the open posts.)⁶⁹ At this time, he introduced regulations to restrict excess in public banquets and festivals, appointing their management to the praetors but imposing limits on the sums they could spend on gladiatorial games; as well as entrusting the curule aediles with the responsibility of the putting out fires and assigned them 600 slaves as firemen.⁷⁰

Continuing Agrippa's policy, Augustus showed himself to be both public spirited and politically responsible.⁷¹ But not all were

supportive of his social and political agenda. Particularly disturbing to Augustus was the exposure of a plot to assassinate him. Behind it was Fannius Caepio, but implicated was L. Licinius Murena, the brother-in-law of Maecenas.⁷² The men fled Rome to avoid prosecution, but were tried *in absentia* and sentenced to death.⁷³ Neither Murena's brother Procleius nor Maecenas were able to save him from a guilty verdict. As a result of the trial Augustus passed a law that a man who was not present at his trial could only be found guilty by unanimous agreement of the jury, and the voting must be transparent and not held in secret.⁷⁴ The involvement of a family relation in a conspiracy to murder was an acute embarrassment to Maecenas, and from that time his influence with Augustus waned.⁷⁵

Second Mission in the West

Believing the situation in Rome to have stabilized, Augustus departed for Sicily to settle affairs requiring his personal attention there.⁷⁶ He had misjudged the situation back home, however. The new flash point was the consular elections. Even though the plebs had no direct involvement in the process of electing these chief officials, fighting broke out among them.⁷⁷ The people fervently believed one of the two positions was intended for Augustus but he declined it and M. Lollius found himself sworn in as the sole consul at the start of 21 BCE. Two rivals emerged to contest the vacant curule chair – Q. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Silvanus – whose canvassing quickly deteriorated into tumult and the Senate appealed to Augustus to return and intervene, but he would not come back to Rome. The two candidates then travelled to Sicily and presented themselves to Augustus who rebuked and dismissed them.⁷⁸ He demanded that the two men should absent themselves from the city while the election was held. They returned to Rome, but the quarrelling was as bad as before. Eventually Lepidus was chosen, but it was a sorry reminder to Augustus at how reliant on him the political system had become.⁷⁹ He plainly could not run the empire if he was compelled to devote all his time to urban affairs, nor could he risk anarchy if he left it. 'Accordingly' writes Dio, 'he sought for someone to set over it, and judged Agrippa to be most suitable for the purpose.'⁸⁰ Once again it was his closest friend who he trusted above all others to deal with his difficult problems and, without further delay, he wrote to Agrippa calling him to a personal meeting

in Sicily.⁸¹ For the task Augustus had in mind, he felt it important to imbue his friend 'with a dignity above the ordinary, in order that he might govern the people more easily'.⁸² His proposal contained a particularly special enticement. As related by Dio,

he summoned him, compelled him to divorce his wife, although she was the emperor's own niece, and to marry Iulia; and he sent him to Rome at once to attend both to the wedding and to the administration of the city. This step is said to have been taken partly on the advice of Maecenas, who in counselling him upon these very matters said, 'you have made him so great that he must either become your son-in-law or be slain.'⁸³

If Maecenas did indeed make the remark, he acknowledged the towering stature Agrippa had attained. By marrying his only child to his best friend, Augustus was now clearly communicating his intention of making Agrippa co-ruler of the Roman world. There was no other way to interpret it. Agrippa's – or indeed the young widow Iulia's – feelings about divorcing Marcella (his present wife and mother of his two children) are not recorded, not that the issue would have bothered Augustus much, even if they entered into his calculations.⁸⁴ This was a politically-motivated marriage. It might have later blossomed into a relationship based on love, but this was not its genesis. It did not best serve Augustus' interests in presenting his family as the role model for Roman society if his daughter remained a widow any longer. Admittedly, there was a considerable difference in age between the partners – Iulia was almost 18-years-old, while Agrippa was now 42 – but marriages between middle-aged men and teenage girls were common in the Roman world. As Augustus had no children by the Claudian Livia Drusilla, he must have had high hopes that the couple would establish a new Julian bloodline, which could produce a male heir to succeed him.

Iulia was Augustus' daughter by his marriage to Scribonia. Little is known about her childhood and early teenage years, and what we know of her has been tinged by the notoriety of her adulthood.⁸⁵ By her late teens she had grown up to be a popular figure in Roman society. People were drawn to her humanity and kindly temperament, but others were perplexed by her apparent contradictions.⁸⁶ It seemed

that beneath her warm personality lurked a spirit driven by darker passions. The precious few statue busts which have been identified as her show a pleasantly oval shaped face, wide open eyes, a Mona Lisa-esque expression on thin wide lips and hair done in the fashionably restrained style for the time, tightly gathered at the nape of the neck.⁸⁷ Augustus indulged his daughter rather than taking a stern approach, but he found her dress sense at odds with his expectations as a father and he was critical of some of the company she kept. One day she appeared before him in what he felt was below the dignity of a woman of his family and he scolded her for it. The following day she reappeared, this time in a sober dress, wearing a demure expression, and hugged her father respectfully. He was delighted by the dramatic change and he complemented her on it; but it was an act intended to make a point. As reported by Macrobius she replied that ‘today I dressed for my father’s eyes, yesterday for my husband’s’.⁸⁸ She was a woman who was aware of her sexuality and she was comfortable with it.

Roman Law required a widow to wait for a period of ten months to properly mourn her loss before remarrying, but since M. Claudius Marcellus’ death fully two years had passed. The marriage to Agrippa was timely, if not overdue. Surprisingly, it appears Augustus did not attend the wedding in person, preferring instead to depart for the East, taking Livia, her two sons, and Quinctilius Varus with him.⁸⁹ Nothing survives in the ancient sources to tell us about the wedding, which took place in Rome. What Agrippa felt about his new wife is not recorded. She was young, attractive, educated, feisty and the daughter of his best friend, which must have appealed to him on several levels. There is nothing to suggest Agrippa approached his marriage with any other intention than to make it successful.

It may have been during that year Agrippa perhaps commissioned the building of new residences for himself and his bride. One is postulated as located in Rome, the other a summer home on the Bay of Naples. It must be said that the identity of the properties is founded largely on informed guesswork based on location and interior decoration. If the so-called Villa under the Farnesina in Rome, which has long been ascribed to him, was indeed his, its site was chosen strategically, overlooking the *Pons Agrippae* in the *Trans Tiberim* with commanding views of the *Campus Martius* and its monumental

edifices.⁹⁰ The painted walls, which have since been uncovered, reveal the changing tastes in interior design during the Augustan Age.⁹¹ One room is decorated with murals in what art historians call the Second Style, known for its picture-window effect evoking the world outside. While the smooth plaster was still wet, the painter used his brush to apply paint made of organic and inorganic pigments bound with egg white; they impregnated themselves into the surface and to this day retain their original colour and brightness.⁹² The ancient artist's brushes created fantastic shallow *trompe l'oeuil* illusions of architectural backdrops of columns, theatrical masks and drapes or Italianate landscapes and populated them with plants, people, birds and animals accurately painted from real life and which still delight modern visitors with their vivacity. The idea was to bring a tamed version of the outside world into the controlled realm of the home.

In contrast the wall paintings of 'Cubiculum B' are in the so-called Third Style, noted for its rejection of the recreation of natural vistas in favour of the restrained elegance of plainer lines representing tall slender Ionic columns set upon plinths, between panels of a bold single colour – here in scarlet red – in the centre of which were whimsical *faux* stucco details or impressionistic masterpieces.⁹³ Nearby is delightful 'Cubiculum E' with off-white as its dominant ground colour, accented with dividing lines in red-brown and green hues. Among the finely draughted painted figures are the goddess Diana/Selene and, in the upper register, statuary atop patinated candelabra and carved balustrades. The overall effect was sophisticated, strong on detail, yet understated and executed to the highest standards – perhaps reflecting Agrippa's own personality.

To the south of Rome, 241km (150 miles) away in fashionable Campania, another villa is associated with Agrippa at Boscotrecase. Smothered by the ash of Vesuvius during the eruption of 79 CE, the villa has since been excavated and studied.⁹⁴ Its connection with Agrippa is tentative and based only on the close similarity of the style and execution of paintings at this site with the Villa under the Farnesina in Rome.⁹⁵ Its ground plan follows the traditional two-part design of homes popular in the Bay of Naples. The first wing comprised of a suite of public rooms – thirteen in all – around a central *atrium*, which was typically open to the sky. An adjoining wing of private rooms – so far ten have been explored – was arranged

around a four-sided peristyle with a formal garden at its centre. The columns of the colonnade were brick covered with plaster while the walls of the peristyle were adorned with paintings of columns in the Second Style, creating the illusion of a double portico. The most important rooms were located here and included the family's bedrooms whose walls were painted in the latest Third Style.⁹⁶

One of these, called 'Cubiculum 15' by archaeologists, but also referred to as the 'black room', opens off the eastern end of the wing.⁹⁷ From a deep red frieze running along the base of the wall, a series of slender white columns rise above a *faux* dado rail against a solid charcoal-black background, originally with a deep glossy finish. Atop these columns, the ancient master painter has added candelabra, pavilions, swans and tripods, all connected by a narrow cornice that runs around the entire room, in places appearing to be folded back slightly to add subtle three dimensionality. The dark walls contrast with the white floor, in the centre of which is a mosaic with a black geometric pattern. In the next room, 'Cubiculum 16', the predominant colour is red above a black base.⁹⁸ Delicate flowers and tendrils bisect the uppermost panels, while borders frame the large plain panels beneath. Each of the four walls in this room has a large centre panel painted in white on which are depicted in impressionistic style bucolic idyls of scenes from mythology – in one, the cyclops Polyphemus stands against a rock in the shadow of a tall tree as he tends his flock, while in another Perseus is shown flying to rescue Andromeda from an approaching sea monster. The translucency of the paint and the quick but masterful stroke of the painter's brush create astonishing images not achieved again until the eighteenth century. Across the corridor is 'Cubiculum 20', whose largely white panels, populated by small birds and tinier flowers, rise above a red base. Yet, tantalizingly the style of its decoration echoes Pliny's comment about Agrippa's restrained artistic taste.⁹⁹ These rooms only hint at the opulence of the property and its luxurious furnishings in its heyday. The architect of the house made the very best of the location. The west wing opened onto a long south-facing terrace, which must once have had magnificent and uninterrupted views over the Bay below, and let in sea-breezes to refresh the house and its occupants – though if Agrippa ever enjoyed its delights is not recorded.

Now in charge of the city of Rome, Agrippa quickly applied his

mind to dealing with the matters of law and order that Augustus had either failed or refused to deal with.¹⁰⁰ His first priority was reclaiming the streets from the rioters. In this he was successful. When another bitter dispute broke out, this time over the election of a junior prefect (*praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum causa*) who represented the consuls during the Latin Festival held in the Alban Hills in January, he was unable to resolve the matter by normal means. Exasperated he took the extreme measure of simply suspending the office for the entire year. In a similar vein, ever suspicious of the corrosive influence of eastern 'mystic' cults on public morale, Agrippa banned the practice of Egyptian rites from being performed within a mile of the city, just as he had done with astrologers and charlatans back in 34 BCE.¹⁰¹

By the late spring of 20 BCE Iulia was heavy with child. Between 14 August and 13 or 23 September she finally gave birth to a baby boy. On the seventh day after the boy's birth, a lustration ceremony was held and Agrippa formally recognized him as his son. He named him C. (Vipsanius) Agrippa – he probably chose the *praenomen* Caius in honour of his best friend. Young Caius was Augustus' first grandson and it must have been with great joy that he received the news delivered by official courier to his residence Syria. At Augustus' or Agrippa's own instigation, the Senate decreed that a sacrifice and prayers were to be held annually in honour of the boy on his birthday and to be paid for with public funds.¹⁰²

Also that year a new monument was unveiled in the *Forum Romanum* between the *Rostra* and the Temple of Saturn.¹⁰³ Called the 'golden milestone' (*miliarium aureum*) it was a column of gilded bronze (or marble clad in gilt bronze) which listed all the major cities and their distances from Rome.¹⁰⁴ Romans regarded it as the starting point from which all the main roads fanned out. While Augustus had been appointed superintendent of the road system (*cura viarum*) of Rome and its environs in 20 BCE he was not actually in the city and it may have been Agrippa who inaugurated the marker. It was likely by this time he had been commissioned by Augustus to prepare a map of the known world (*orbis terrarum*).¹⁰⁵ Agrippa was one of the most travelled men of his age and that uniquely qualified him to make critical observations on reports of the diverse terrains, peoples, cities of the Roman world and distances between them. As a military man he would, like other commanders, have had access to maps and

itineraries, which he used on campaign and annotated, creating new ones of his own as new information became available.¹⁰⁶ A project to compile and present a unified map had been commissioned when Julius Caesar and M. Antonius were consuls in 44 BCE; four Greeks had been assigned to carry out the work and twenty years later it was not yet complete.¹⁰⁷ Strabo, who saw the finished representation in 7 BCE, observed:

It is the sea more than anything else that defines the contours of the land and gives it its shape, by forming gulfs, deep seas, straits, and likewise isthmuses, peninsulas, and promontories; but both the rivers and the mountains assist the seas herein. It is through such natural features that we gain a clear conception of continents, nations, favourable positions of cities, and all the other diversified details with which our geographical map is filled. And among these details are the multitudes of islands scattered both in the open seas and along the whole seaboard. And since different places exhibit different good and bad attributes, as also the advantages and inconveniences that result therefrom, some due to nature and others resulting from human design, the geographer should mention those that are due to nature.¹⁰⁸

With the benefit of another half century of explorations by Roman armies and merchants Pliny the Elder, who cites Agrippa – probably the *commentarii* which accompanied the map – as a source of geographical information for his own work on thirty occasions, expressed his exasperation at errors in it, as here where he remarks about underestimates of distances in the Iberian peninsula:

M. Agrippa has also stated the whole length of this province to be 475 miles, and its breadth 257; but this was at a time when its boundaries extended to Carthago, a circumstance which has often caused great errors in calculations; which are generally the result either of changes effected in the limits of provinces, or of the fact that in the reckoning of distances the length of the miles has been arbitrarily increased or diminished. In some parts too the sea has been long making encroachments upon the land, and in others again the shores have advanced; while

the course of rivers in this place has become more serpentine, in that more direct. And then, besides, some writers begin their measurements at one place, and some at another, and so proceed in different directions; and hence the result is, that no two accounts agree.

Who is there that can entertain the belief that Agrippa, a man of such extraordinary diligence, and one who bestowed so much care on his subject, when he proposed to place before the eyes of the world a survey of that world, could be guilty of such a mistake as this, and that too when seconded by the late emperor the divine Augustus? For it was that emperor who completed the Portico which had been begun by his sister, and in which the survey was to be kept, in conformity with the plan and descriptions of M. Agrippa.¹⁰⁹

Modern attempts at a reconstruction of Agrippa's *orbis terrarum* propose that the map was either circular in design (fig. 18) – with Rome at the centre – or longitudinal (like the map of Eratosthenes) or that it was not a map at all but a gazetteer of places and distances (fig. 6).¹¹⁰

In 19 BCE reports arrived from the Gallic provinces of trouble there. The *Galli* were restless, perhaps even in open revolt – Dio says they were quarrelling amongst themselves, without specifying who – and the situation was made worse by raids by Germanic war bands from the Rhineland.¹¹¹ The *legatus* in the region evidently could not contain the unrest himself with the forces at his disposal and, perhaps fearing it might spread, must have written to Rome for help. Agrippa felt obliged to go there in person to deal with it. He had his own *imperium* and was acting in his usual hands-on style to deal with a crisis.¹¹²

Details about Agrippa's movements in the region are frustratingly sparse. Speed was of the essence. On the outbound journey he may have taken the Alpine road, *Via Cottia per Alpem* (map 13). Before it was made into a road, Hannibal Barca had marched his army and his elephants along this route, a journey that took fifteen days.¹¹³ Julius Caesar, considering this the shortest route, took just six days to reach the Rhône from the Italian foothills.¹¹⁴ It crossed through the Roman protectorate of the Alpes Cottiae.¹¹⁵ The territory was a client-

kingdom named after M. Iulius Cottius, a Ligurian noble, and son of King Donnus.¹¹⁶ Indeed, Agrippa does appear to have been known by the royal family.¹¹⁷ Cottius had found a way to peacefully and profitably co-exist with his Roman neighbours by constructing a highway over the Alpine pass at Mount Genèvre (Matrona Mons).¹¹⁸ Traffic from Augusta Taurinorum (Turin) could take the road heading northwest to Cottius' capital at Segusio (Susa) and go on to Brigantium (Briançon). The road terminated at Glanum (St-Rémy-de-Provence), whence traffic could head south to Arelate (Arles) on the *Via Domitia* which took them to the Iberian peninsula; or north through Arausio (Orange) and directly to Lugdunum.¹¹⁹ After a long journey Agrippa reached the leading city of the region to assess the situation. Was Aquitania up in arms again? Dio cryptically states only that he 'put a stop to those troubles'.¹²⁰ We are left to guess whether he achieved it by military force or diplomacy. It might have been a sufficient deterrent for the Gallic insurgents to suspend hostilities just knowing Augustus' own deputy, who had crushed dissent there before, was on his way.¹²¹ The fact is all the more remarkable because Agrippa had not participated in battle since his campaigns against the forces of M. Antonius and Kleopatra in 31 BCE.

TERRARVM·ORBIS·DIVIDITVR·TRIBVS·NOMINIBVS·EVROPA·
ASIA·LIBYA·QVEM·DIVVS·AVGVSTVS·PRIMVS·OMNIVM·PER·
CHOROGRAPHIAM·OSTENDIT·

PRINCIPIVM·ERGO·ERIT·OMNIBVS·AB
EVROPAE·FRETO·QVEM·LOCVM·GRAECI
HERACLEOS·STELAS·APPELLANT

HISPANIARVM·IGITVR·PROVINCIAE·TRES
EX·EO·LOCO·AD·MONTES·PYRENAEOS
PER·MILIA·PASSVM·DCCCC·IN·LONGITVD
INE·PORRIGITVR·EADEMQUE·LATITVDO
SED·QVA·CONTRAHITVR·CCC·MILIA
PASSVM·VIDETVR·ITAQVE·PROXIMA·A
PYRENAEIS·MONTIBVS·CITERIOR

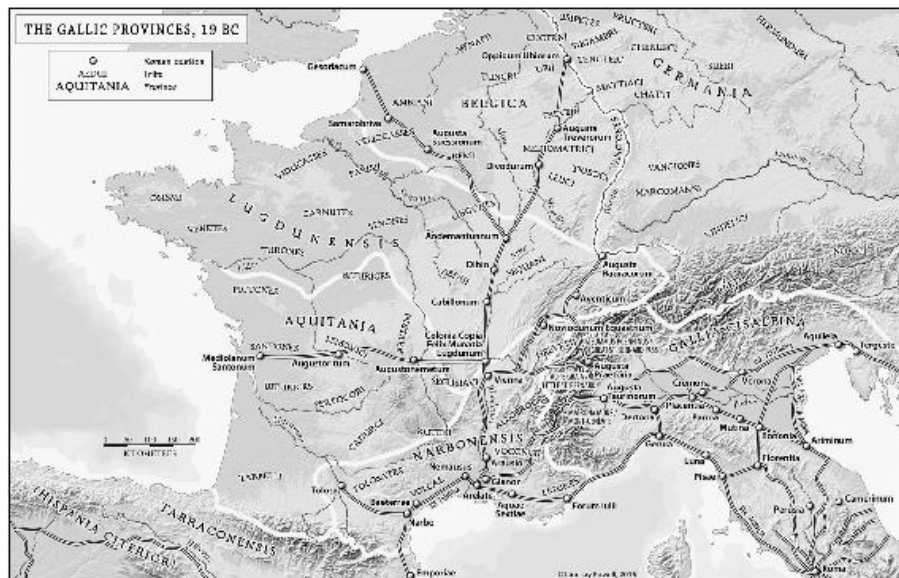
CORDVBENSIS·BAETICA·PRIMA·ITAQVE
PROVINCIA·FINITVR·AB·ORIENTE
SALTU·CARTHAGINENSI·ET·MAVRETANIA
A·SEPTENTRIONE·FLVMINE·ANA·A
MERIDIE·MARI·CELTIBERICO

HISPANIA·LVSITANIA·CVM·ASTVRICA·ET
GALLAECIA·FINITVR·AB·ORIENTE
NOECA·ASTVRVM·QVAE·EST·AD·MARE
OCEANVM·INDE·RECTA·REGIONE·IN
MERIDIEM·AD·FL·ATACVM·M·A·SEPTENT
RIONE·OCEANO·A·MERIDIE·FLVMINE
ANA·PATET·IN·LONGITVDINE·M·P
CCCCLXXX·LATITVDINE·CCCCL

HISPANIA·CITERIOR·FINITVR·AB·ORIENTE
SALTU·PYRENAEO·AB·OCCIDENTE
NOECA·MARI·CELTIBERICO·LONGITVD
INO·D·LATITVIDINO·CC

LONGITVDINO·CITERIORIS·HISPANIAE·EST
AD·FINE·CASTVLONIS·A·PYRENAEO
DCVII·P·LATITVDO·A·TARRACONE·AD
LITVS·OIARSINIS·CCVII

Figure 6. Agrippa's *Orbis Terrarum* may not have been a map in the conventional sense but a text document carved in stone. (Reconstructed by the author after Brodersen)



Map 13. Tres Galliae and Germania Magna, 19 BCE.

Dealing with the external threat required a different approach. The Rhine River was not an impermeable barrier and Germanic brigands (*latrones*) were free to cross at will. Neither was there a Roman standing army on the Left Bank to intercept them when they raided. Just as he done had twenty years before, Agrippa travelled to the Rhine to critically assess the situation for himself. He found the Ubii once again under direct attack at their rear from the Suebi, a broad coalition of war bands which was moving ever southwestwards and encroaching aggressively on the territory of their neighbours.¹²² It seems the Ubii sent a deputation calling on their Roman allies to provide them sanctuary. In response, Agrippa made an extraordinary decision. 'By their own consent,' writes Strabo, 'they were transferred by Agrippa to the country this side of the Rhenus'.¹²³ They founded a settlement called Oppidum Ubiorum, the precursor to modern Cologne. The agreement came with conditions, however. Tacitus mentions that the Ubii were relocated specifically so that they could assist the Romans in guarding that section of the river.¹²⁴ The archaeological evidence suggests that a Roman army was based here at different times over several years, but that the successive military encampments were probably sited some distance away from the civilian settlement.¹²⁵

It may also have been at this time that work began on an urban settlement (*civitas*) for the Treveri nation whose territory extended between the Rhine and Maas rivers. During Iulius Caesar's Gallic War T. Labienus had defeated and killed their leader Indutiomarus and broken the Treveran resistance.¹²⁶ Expelled from their strongholds, such as the hill fort at Hunnering – or 'Circle of the Huns' – located at Otzenhausen, St. Wendel, in the Rhineland-Palatinate, this crushed nation had been largely left to its own devices.¹²⁷ A new town was established – probably initially called Oppidum Treverorum – on the banks of the Mosella (Moselle) River where modern Trier now stands. In combination with the Ubii some 190km (118 miles) to the north, Agrippa had established a nominal buffer zone between the people across the Rhine and the *Galli* to the south, where local allies – rather than Roman troops – provided the means to defend their home turf from incursions by invaders from the north.¹²⁸ His act of diplomatic generosity was a win-win for all parties.

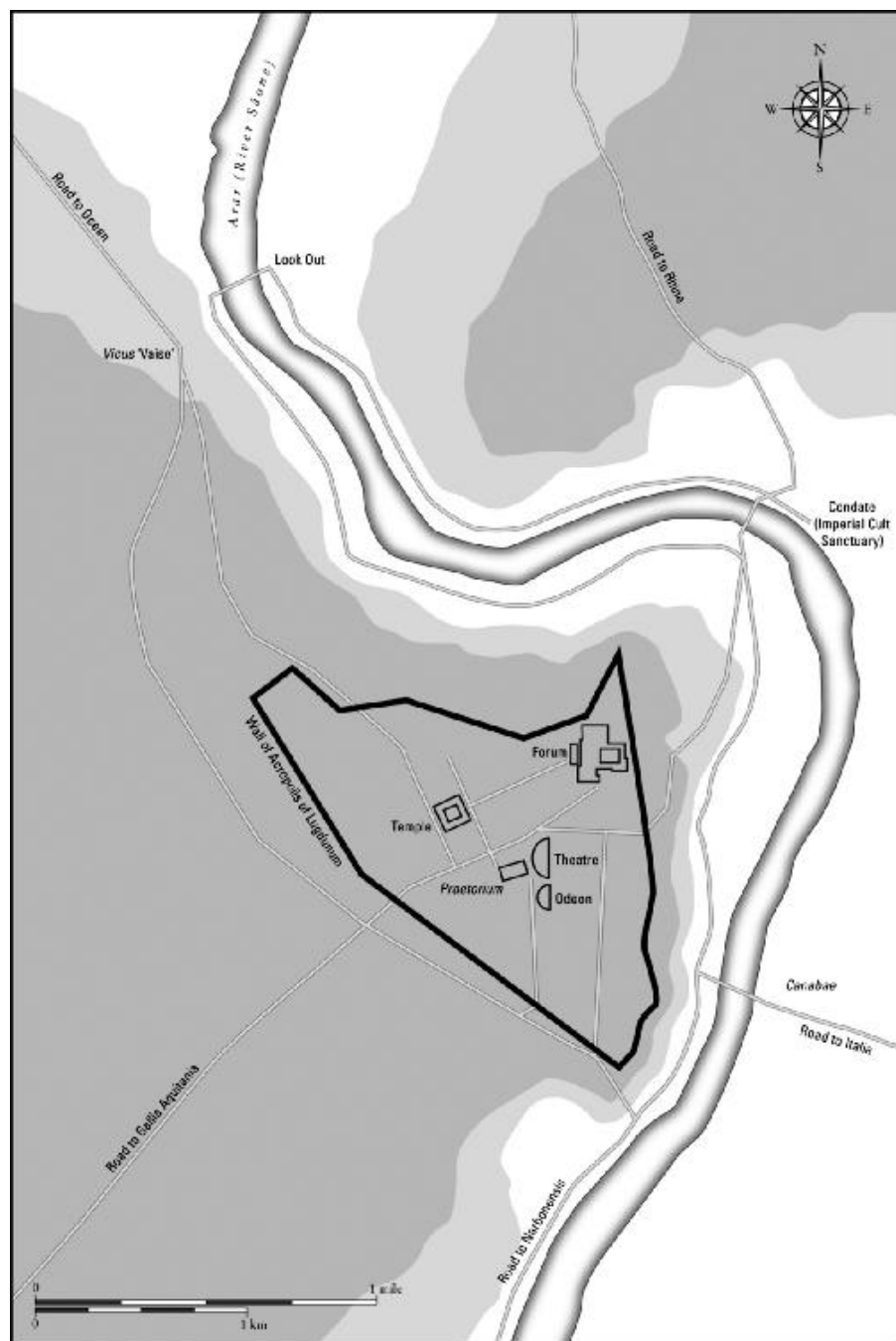
Remarkably, despite Iulius Caesar having invested almost a decade

to conquer the sixty Gallic tribes, little had been done to develop the population and its resources through urban or economic development. Its nations were still divided among the three parts Caesar described in his *Commentaries on the Gallic War* – Aquitania, Celtica and Belgica – as they had before the protracted conflict. Resentments among the surviving tribal members festered and it may have been these infractions which required Agrippa's intervention. It would have been evident to Agrippa as he traversed the country that the old ways of the Iron Age population had been largely unaffected by annexation into the Roman Empire. Pacification could not be achieved by brute force alone. The tribal leadership needed a stake in the new economy; the mass of the population had to have a greater role in the society for Rome to win their loyalty.

The centre of Roman control for the region was a *colonia* Iulius Caesar's deputy L. Munatius Plancus had founded for his retiring legionaries in 43 BCE when he was appointed Gaul's first governor.¹²⁹ It stood in the heartland of the Aedui nation, which had for most of its history, barring a short episode as allies of Vercingetorix, been pro-Roman.¹³⁰ Built on the granite acropolis of Fourvière, formed by the erosion over millennia of the confluence of the rivers Rhône (Rhodanus) and Saône (Arar), it initially took the name of *Colonia Copia Felix Munatia* – in a flamboyant salute to the founder's own family's good luck but later known as Lugdunum (modern Lyon) – and was laid out in the grid-iron street plan so beloved of Roman surveyors ([map 14](#)). Probably anticipating he would be staying for some time in the region, Agrippa commissioned a new home for himself and his entourage. Positioned on the highest point of the city, it was a palatial building, measuring 37m (121.4ft) by 61m (200.1ft) with a symmetrically axial ground plan reminiscent of a military *praetorium*.¹³¹ Revealing its owner's taste, it included two internal partially covered *atria* with peristyles in the Italian style and featured mosaic floors, painted walls and baths. From its main room Agrippa had a spectacular east-facing view across the valley of the Saône – reminiscent of the Villa Boscotrecase in Campania and its view of the Bay of Naples – where he could watch the sun rise in the morning.

The city was well positioned with access by the Rhône River to the Mediterranean coast to the south. There the great urban centres of Arausio, Arelate and *Colonia Nemausus* (Nîmes) in urbane Gallia

Narbonensis (or Provincia ‘the province’, as some still referred to it) demonstrated what could be done with encouragement from Roman investors. The region to the north and west was, to all intents and purposes, virgin territory for exploitation through industry and trade. Moving people and goods across all compass points of the three Gallic provinces was hampered by the lack of a road network and, recognizing the fact, Agrippa was the most likely catalyst of much-needed change.¹³² The same highways would enable Roman troops and their supplies to move swiftly to quell future rebellions. Soon after his arrival, work began on three great roads radiating out from *Colonia Copia* westward to the Atlantic coast, terminating at a *Mediolanum Santonum* (modern Saintes), south via Vienna (Vienne) to the Mediterranean, east to *Alpes Graiae* at Axima (Aime) and north to his newly founded *Oppidum Ubiorum* on the Rhine.¹³³



Map 14. Plan of Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum.

Each of the Gallic nations had been formed into self-governing communities or *civitates* which occupied the geographical territories of the pre-conquest era tribes.¹³⁴ Though there were a few urban *civitates* in the three Gallic provinces, the archaeological record indicates that the native Gallic populations still lived in small communities located in the plains below their ancestral *oppida*.¹³⁵ These townships (*vici*) and villages (*pagi*), typically unplanned, arose by virtue of their convenient locations, such as at road intersections and river crossings, or because of commercial opportunities, such as to service a local Roman military contingent which had arrived to build a section of road or a bridge. Craftsmen produced finished goods from clothing to pots, and items of wood or metal, providing the Roman army and its *lixae* with essential staples and luxuries.¹³⁶ A few *vici*, such as at Alésia, Mâlain and Vidy, Lousonna, show evidence that formal street patterns were laid out in the period 20–10 BCE, suggesting that the Roman authorities, possibly encouraged by Agrippa, recognized their potential. Some *pagi* and *vici* proved to be more dynamic than the organized *civitates*, such as Cenabum (Orléans) whose development outpaced that of Autricum (Chartres). In other parts of the country, however, the native population did not respond well to the invitation to adopt the Roman way. In the settlement of Burdigala (Bordeaux) overlooking the Garonne River, for example, or at Vorgium (Carhaix), life continued much as it had done before the arrival of Iulius Caesar and his army, and these cities remained empty of settlers.¹³⁷ Even Agrippa could not convince them to settle there.

Agrippa's presence in the region did, however, spur benefactors to grace their communities in Gallia Narbonensis with new buildings. The city of Nemausus, in particular, benefitted from Agrippa's attention where he invested in its street plan, city wall and gates, and civic amenities.¹³⁸ He erected and dedicated an exquisite Corinthian style temple, nowadays called the Maison Carrée (the 'Square House'), in 16 or 15 BCE.¹³⁹ Inspired detective work by Émile Espérandieu, who studied the pattern of holes which attached the bronze letters to the architrave, revealed that the original inscription might have read:

M AGRIPPA L F COS III IMP TRIBVN POTEST III COL AVG
NEM DAT¹⁴⁰

Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, Consul three times, *Imperator*,

holder of the tribunician power three times, gave [this building] to *Colonia Nemausus*.

– a rare example of the public display of Agrippa's military acclamation. Though it has been the object of restorations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the temple, which today, after its recent cleaning, stands gleaming white on a sunny day, is the most complete Roman building of its kind to survive from the Augustan period.¹⁴¹ It embodies classical proportions for a hexastyle temple, with six Corinthian columns under the pediment and twenty engaged columns along the walls of the *cella*. Standing on a 2.85m (9.4ft) high podium, the temple once dominated the forum of the Nemausus, forming a rectangle nearly twice as long as it is wide, measuring 26.42m × 13.54m (86.7ft × 44.4ft). Similar to the Pantheon in Rome, the front façade is dominated by a deep *pronaos* measuring almost a third of the building's entire length. The dedication of the temple by Agrippa suggests he might have had patronal relationship with the community and, although there is no direct evidence to confirm this, he may have resided in the city while the *praetorium* was being constructed in *Colonia Copia* 252km (156 miles) to the north. Two other monumental inscriptions on fragments of architraves confirm that other buildings in the city were paid for by Agrippa.¹⁴² This *colonia* had long had a special affection for Agrippa and for several years had been minting bronze coins (*aes*) – the small change which filled people's money bags of the day (plate 31) – with his portrait facing to the right, back to back with Augustus' laureate head facing left on the obverse, and the city's striking emblem of a crocodile and palms on the reverse.¹⁴³ A temple dedicated to Diana and a bathing complex have also been accredited to Agrippa's generosity.¹⁴⁴

The baths were supplied with fresh water. The nearby aqueduct, known by its modern name, Pont du Gard, which provided Nemausus with water, has been traditionally associated with Agrippa, but the evidence for his involvement in it is more by inference than substance.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, recent excavations at the outflows in Nîmes have produced coins which suggest the great aqueduct was built no earlier than the reign of Claudius, around 40 or 50 CE (fig. 7).¹⁴⁶ They also found the ancient engineers had to work around earlier tunnels dug during the Augustan period, and it may be these conduits which

were commissioned while Agrippa was in Gaul. Even if Agrippa was not directly responsible for building the aqueduct and the Pont du Gard, with his penchant for addressing large scale engineering challenges, it is within the realms of possibility that he commissioned an engineering study into how best to provide a continuous supply of fresh water to Nemausus, which later engineers may have consulted and realized.¹⁴⁷

Cantabrian and Asturian War

Hardly had Agrippa restored peace to the Gallic hinterland and Rhineland frontier, when news arrived from the north of the Iberian Peninsula. The people there were in revolt – again. Dio reports:

It seems that the Cantabri who had been captured alive in the war and sold, had killed their masters in every case, and returning home, had induced many to join in their rebellion; and with the aid of these they had seized some positions, walled them in, and were plotting against the Roman garrisons.¹⁴⁸

Evidently, the local Roman commander C. Furnius had reason to believe the situation was grave enough to call for the support of Augustus' deputy – or at least to apprise him of it.¹⁴⁹ True to character, Agrippa decided to evaluate the situation for himself and immediately set off for Hispania Citerior. The route he took is not recorded. By land, assuming his destination was Legio (modern León) or Segisama, the available road network at the time determined that he would have to go via Tarraco, a distance of almost 1,200km (745 miles), which could take a month to travel on horseback. By taking a swift ship from the coast of Aquitania, he would have been able to shave several days off the journey, depending on prevailing sailing conditions. As usual, the imperial commander would have been accompanied by his bodyguard of handpicked lictors, staff of adjutants and personal slaves.

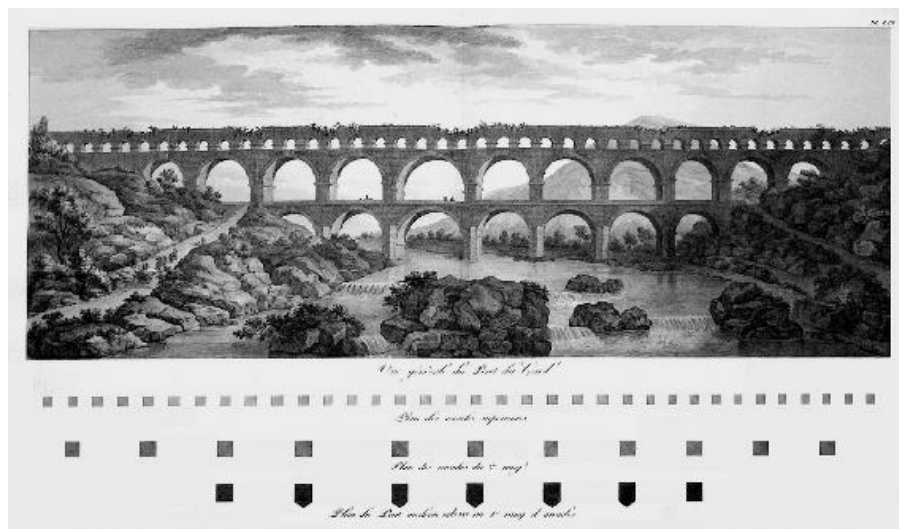


Figure 7. Some historians believe Agrippa commissioned the Pont du Gard to supply fresh water to *Colonia Nemausus*. Recent archaeological evidence suggests it was actually constructed during the reign of Claudius. Its design may have been inspired by Agrippa's *Aqua Iulia* in Rome.

The region he entered was heavily militarized. Although Augustus had claimed to have won the war of 26–25 BCE in which he had himself fought against the Astures and Cantabri, the massive military force he had personally assembled remained *in situ*; it had been called to action again under the command of Furnius to quell a subsequent uprising which broke out in 22.¹⁵⁰ Known to be present during the Augustan campaign were *Legiones I Augusta*, *II Augusta*, *III Macedonica*, *V Alaudae*, *VI Victrix*, *VIII Hispana*, *X Gemina*, and *XX Valeria Victrix*.¹⁵¹ In support of them were auxiliary cavalry from *Ala Augusta*, *Ala II Gallorum*, *Ala Parthorum* and *Ala II Thracum Victrix Civium Romanorum*; and infantry from *Cohors II Gallorum* and *Cohors IV Thracum Aequitata*.¹⁵² The total land force deployed was up to 52,000 troops. Warships and transports arriving from Aquitania had helped to complete the encirclement of the rebels and contributed to their ultimate defeat.¹⁵³ On his arrival, like any good commander, Agrippa would meet with the legates and *praefecti* of the units as was normal practice.¹⁵⁴ Many of these senior officers would have already been known to him personally or at least by reputation. What he found, however, was an army demoralized in spirit and fatigued from endless fighting:

It was against these people, then, that Agrippa led an expedition. But he had some trouble also with his soldiers; for not a few of them were too old and were exhausted by the continual wars; and fearing the Cantabri as men hard to subdue, they would not obey him.¹⁵⁵

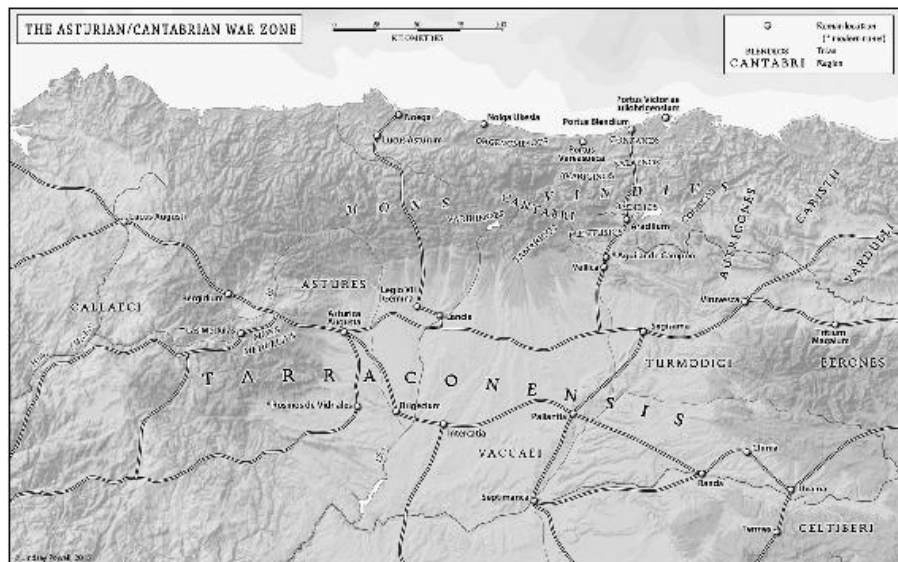
The refusal of the men to respond unquestioningly to Augustus' own deputy's orders is striking. Roman troops were famous for their obedience to often brutally harsh discipline, but they did resort to mutiny if they felt they were being treated unfairly as Roman citizens. Even Iulius Caesar, famed for the loyalty of his soldiers, had himself faced a mutiny of his own troops in 47 BCE.¹⁵⁶ For the 44-year-old Agrippa this was the first time he had faced open insubordination. He had met the challenge before of motivating inexperienced men against seemingly insurmountable odds – when building his navy and training marines for the war against Sex. Pompeius – but not outright defiance from battle hardened veterans. Before Agrippa could fight the rebels he had been sent to bring to heel, he first had to restore discipline and

revitalize the morale of his own men – and he had to do so quickly. Julius Caesar had stood before his mutineers alone and addressed them as *quirites*, ‘citizens’, rather than the usual *comilitiones*, ‘fellow soldiers’.¹⁵⁷ That one word, loaded with emotional significance, was enough to break the mutiny. Not having such a personal connection to the legions in Hispania Citerior borne of years of fighting together, Agrippa had much less influence. Probably speaking to them as *milites*, ‘soldiers’, he adopted a ‘carrot and stick’ approach, and applied it with patience and persistence.¹⁵⁸ It worked. ‘Partly by admonishing and exhorting them and partly by inspiring them with hopes,’ writes Dio, ‘he soon made them yield obedience.’¹⁵⁹

While Agrippa was consumed in activities designed to rebuild the cohesion of his own forces, however, his opponents used the absence of the Romans to their advantage. The recent wars had honed the fighting skills of the Iberian warriors and hardened their resolve against defeat. Their preferred strategy was still to hit their enemy when they were least expecting an attack by ambushing them, then running for the protective cover of the forests which concealed the foothills of the surrounding mountains.¹⁶⁰ The Astures occupied most of the inland area of modern Asturias, León and northern Zamora in Spain, as far west of Trás os Montes in Portugal ([map 15](#)). The Cantabri made their homes closer to the northern Atlantic coast, covering the whole of modern Cantabria province, the eastern Asturias, the adjacent mountainous regions of Castile-León and the northern fringes of Palencia and Burgos provinces. Forming a natural border with the Romanized south controlled from Legio were the craggy Cantabrian Mountains (Cordillera Cantábrica). The spectacular Torrecerredo peak rises to 2,648m (8,688ft) and the range extend eastwards for some 200km (120 miles). Among these mountains and valleys the Cantabri lived in strongly fortified towns.¹⁶¹ A wide plain swept down to the north to rugged coastal cliffs, which prevented retreat.¹⁶² It was a landscape which had shaped the character of the people who lived there. Strabo ascribes the wildness of the people to their far distance from Mediterranean civilization and the difficulty of communications between pockets of local communities separated by mountains.¹⁶³ It was familiarity with this terrain which gave the Astures and Cantabri their greatest advantage over the Romans, especially when on the march when their long supply lines were

exposed.

Compared to the Roman soldier, the Cantabrian warrior was lightly armed and protected. The poet Lucan, writing seventy-five or so years after Agrippa's campaign, contrasted the 'Cantabrian with his short weapons and the Teuton with his long ones'.¹⁶⁴ Among his arsenal was the short, straight stabbing sword – the Roman legionary's weapon of choice, the *gladius Hispaniensis* (plate 19), was directly based on it – or the curved machete-like *falcata*, as well as the dagger, spear, lance and the formidable double-headed axe (*bipennis*).¹⁶⁵ His protective gear might include a round or oval shield made of wood, and if he had the means to afford it, a helmet to protect the head and body armour worn over a tunic of wool.¹⁶⁶ On foot, the combination of light arms and inferior numbers meant Cantabrian warriors tended to avoid close quarters combat, preferring instead guerrilla warfare.¹⁶⁷ On the open plain, they preferred to use cavalry, exploiting speed and agility to great effect. Their tactics were admired and later, as they often did when they saw a good idea, adopted by the Romans themselves. These were the semicircular formation (*circulus Cantabricus*) in which a single file of riders discharged a constant volley of missiles in rotation, and a heavy frontal attack (*Cantabricus impetus*) intended to punch through a line of massed enemy troops.¹⁶⁸ Strabo notes 'they ride double on horseback, though in the time of battle one of the two fights on foot' – a cavalry tactic the Romans themselves had used in the 210s BCE.¹⁶⁹ Cantabrian cavalry also fought in the hills. Little wonder then that Agrippa found his troops exhausted.



Map 15. The Asturian/Cantabrian War Zone.

Ancient writers characterize the Iberian peoples in stereotypical terms as bandits and robbers, unable to form strategic alliances with their neighbours without quickly resorting to knavery.¹⁷⁰ Even Dio denigrates the Cantabrian rebels as captives who had risen against their masters.¹⁷¹ The Romans were foolish to believe such misconceptions. The rugged terrain and guerrilla mode of fighting, even with smaller forces, put the Romans, who trained relentlessly for set-piece battles or sieges, at a great disadvantage. Agrippa had experienced first-hand similar tactics in Illyricum during the early-mid 30s BCE, but he had not personally led a major campaign since the Actian War. The twelve year hiatus from campaigning would catch the Roman commander by surprise. Indeed, his opening moves in the campaign did not go well, and he could not gain the upper hand. 'In fighting against the Cantabri,' writes Dio, 'he met with many reverses.'¹⁷² He faced a tough and motivated opponent, 'for not only had they gained practical experience, as a result of having been slaves to the Romans, but also despaired of having their lives granted to them again if they were taken captive'.¹⁷³ For a while it must have seemed that he had lost his leadership edge.

The details of the war of 19 BCE are entirely lost to us.¹⁷⁴ Based on their previously reported strategies and tactics, we may surmise that the Astures and Cantabri launched ambushes from the hills upon Roman troops while on the march, attacked their temporary marching camps and attempted to storm civilian settlements. The war of 26–25 BCE had been one of siege warfare and raiding rather than pitched battles. Basing his command operations centre at Segisama, Augustus had divided his forces into three army groups with which he successfully enveloped the whole of Cantabria and, as Florus poetically describes the manoeuvre in hunting terms, 'enclosed its fierce people like wild beasts in a net'.¹⁷⁵ It may have been during this period that *Legio VIII* received its war honour (*agnomen*) *Hispana* or *Hispaniensis*. He also cut off any chance of escape the Cantabri may have contemplated by using his navy to patrol the Bay of Biscay and land marines as required.

The Romans' first battle against the Cantabrians was fought under the walls of Attica or Bergida (whose locations are unknown).¹⁷⁶ From there, the Cantabri then retreated to Mons Vindius (possibly Peña Santa), expecting the Romans not to follow.¹⁷⁷ They did. After a stout

resistance, the city of Aracillum or Racillum (possibly modern Aradillos or Espina del Gallego) fell to Augustus' troops.¹⁷⁸ The last battle in the campaign was the siege of Mons Medullus (possibly Peña Sagra) above the Minius (Miño) River.¹⁷⁹ The Roman army surrounded it with a continuous earthwork comprising a ditch and parapet 15 or 18 miles long, and began a direct assault.¹⁸⁰ The defenders were trapped. Rather than being taken alive, we are told many of the inhabitants committed suicide by poison, others by fire or sword.¹⁸¹ Strabo notes that facing the prospect of captivity Cantabrian mothers resorted to killing their children, but the theme of 'death rather than surrender' among people living among mountains was another stereotype of Roman authors writing about savage barbarians.¹⁸²

During that gruesome war the assumedly unsophisticated Asturians had also shown a flash of insight into military strategy which took the Romans quite by surprise. Coming down from the mountains they established a position on the Astura River not far from the three Roman camps. Dividing their forces into three groups they launched a simultaneous attack on the Roman camps.¹⁸³ They might have succeeded were it not for their betrayal by the Brigaecini and the arrival of *legatus Augusti pro praetore* P. Carisius with his army as a result of their warnings, and the Romans were saved from defeat. The Astures retreated to their principal fortified city of Lancea (another place of unknown location) which opened its gates to them.¹⁸⁴ After a siege by direct assault the town fell. The Roman commander managed to persuade his soldiers not to raze the city to the ground, pleading that it would be a more fitting monument to Roman victory if it were left standing rather than burnt down. Even with Augustus recuperating in Tarraco and C. Antistius Vetus continuing on, the war of 26–25 BCE was finally won.¹⁸⁵ The local mint at *Colonia Augusta Emerita* (modern Mérida), founded just at the end of the war for veterans of *Legiones V Alaudae* and *X Gemina*, issued coins in Carisius' name emblazoned with images of captured spears, curved swords and round shields, piled up high as a trophy on the reverse.¹⁸⁶

The Hispanic warriors were not done, however. There was a further outbreak after Carisius retired his post in 23.¹⁸⁷ Dio ascribes the cause of this new revolt by the Astures to the extravagant lifestyle led by Carisius and the cruel manner in which he administered the

region, whereas the Cantabri joined their neighbours only because they saw an opportunity to make trouble while the new governor C. Furnius settled in.¹⁸⁸ They had both underestimated the new governor. Following their failed attempt to besiege a Roman stronghold, the Astures were quickly defeated by Furnius in open battle.¹⁸⁹ The separate Cantabrian assault made little impact, and seeing no possibility for victory, they set their townships to the torch and took their own lives by poison, rather than fall into Roman hands. Yet many others surrendered, resolving to fight another day.

Inheriting this turbulent legacy, Agrippa found the latest war to be a true test of his abilities. For a while the insurgents' strategies and tactics worked, wearing down the Roman troops, resulting in heavy casualties. Dio records that Agrippa 'lost many of his soldiers' and his opponents 'degraded many others because they kept being defeated', a state of affairs which must have greatly vexed the champion of Actium and Aquitania.¹⁹⁰ It was Illyricum of 35–34 BCE all over again. Particularly galling to him was the performance of *Legio Augusta* – probably I rather than II. Its seeming inability to beat its adversary led Agrippa to demand that it be stripped of the honorific title given by Augustus – a deeply humiliating act for the troops who had likely won it for gallantry during recent actions.¹⁹¹ Yet Agrippa was never one to give up if there was a chance of success. Dogged determination to see the mission through and unswerving loyalty to his friend drove Agrippa to push his deputies and men harder in the fight. It was what they had trained for. A later historian would remark how Roman army training periods were bloodless combats while their combats were bloody drills.¹⁹² Eventually he gained the upper hand. 'Finally Agrippa was successful,' records Dio, adding 'he at length destroyed nearly all of the enemy who were of military age, deprived the rest of their arms, and forced them to come down from their fortresses and live in the plains'.¹⁹³ Agrippa had won the *Bellum Cantabricum et Asturicum*.¹⁹⁴ While the Roman Commonwealth was grateful to its commander, his own reaction hints that he was not particularly proud of the victory:

Yet he sent no communication concerning them to the Senate, and did not accept a triumph, although one was voted at the behest of Augustus, but showed moderation in these matters as

was his wont; and once, when asked by the consul for his opinion about his brother, he would not give it.¹⁹⁵

Agrippa is once again presented as the self-deprecating general, turning down a public honour; but his bashfulness may have masked his true feelings. Was his modesty a way to save face from the humiliation of the poor conduct of the men he had commanded against a smaller force? Was it a sign of disappointment at his own leadership of the war? Or did he now feel bold enough to answer to no one else other than Augustus? Without being able to read his own memoirs, we cannot ever know.

Yet his hard-won victory achieved what many commanders before him had not. He had broken the resolve of the two last indomitable nations which had stood against Roman annexation over several campaigns, and by doing so he had concluded the two century-long war to complete the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁹⁶ Possibly on Agrippa's advice, even when forces were later drawn down for deployment elsewhere in the empire, the Romans never stationed fewer than two legions there.¹⁹⁷ While he refused a triumph, Agrippa did accept a *corona muralis* (plate 32), a military honour – made of gold and decorated with turrets – granted to the first man to scale the wall of a besieged city.¹⁹⁸ It was depicted on gold and silver coins as worn by Agrippa in combination with his *corona navalis*.¹⁹⁹ With control restored, the Romans could begin economic exploitation of the region. The great lure was gold, previously denied them. They wasted no time and brought all their technological know-how to the challenge of extracting it. The Romans would soon earn a handsome return on their long term investment in blood and treasure in Hispania Citerior – a reported 20,000 pounds of gold were produced each year following its conquest.²⁰⁰ Apart from one minor outburst in 16 BCE, this region of the peninsula would remain peaceful for hundreds of years.²⁰¹

In the aftermath of violence, Agrippa left his mark in more pacific ways before leaving the region for the last time. Veterans were settled, such as at *Colonia Caesaraugusta* (plate 33). To grace the developing *Colonia Augusta Emerita* in Lusitania, he paid for a new public building whose scale rivalled those in Arausio or Arelate in cosmopolitan Gallia Narbonensis.²⁰² The hemicyclic theatre of grey granite, which was partly built into a hill and could seat 6,000, featured a high stage and

an architectural backdrop (*scaenae frons*).²⁰³ It provided the city's army veterans with a place to enjoy comedies, tragedies and pantomimes, or hear readings of books of history and poetry. The engraved inscription mounted above the entrance archway (plate 34) to the *orchestra* and the holes for bronze letters over *aditus maximus* confirm Agrippa was its benefactor, but he did not see it completed as it was finished between 16 and 14 BCE.²⁰⁴ Behind the building there may have been a small sanctuary for the burgeoning imperial cult, based on the find of a fine togate bust of Augustus. It was long thought that, delighted by their gift, the citizens paid for a colossal state of Agrippa to be erected in the marble forum; however, current thinking is that the inscription below – which says 'AGRIPPA' on the left edge of the plinth – indicates the sculpture was actually one of a group of Rome's mythical kings of Alba Longa, ancestors of Augustus.²⁰⁵ In neighbouring Baetica, one Utia acknowledged Agrippa as his patron, while in *municipium* Gades (modern Cadiz), which also functioned as a naval base, the mint struck coins calling him *patronus et parens* of the community.²⁰⁶ In Hispania Citerior, the citizens of Carthago Nova (Cartagena) – where veterans had settled and renamed it grandly *Colonia Victrix Iulia Nova Carthago* – elected him to the honorary office of *praefectus quinquennalis* along with Augustus.²⁰⁷ Agrippa did not take on the duties in person – they were delegated to a local dignitary – but it was recognition of the high regard in which the local people held him.

Water, Water Everywhere

In Rome, on 9 June 19 BCE the massive construction work on the *Aqua Virgo* was finally completed. It was given the official name of *Aqua Augusta* (plate 29), though it continued to be popularly known as the *Virgo*.²⁰⁸ The structure now extended from its source on the east side of the city for 14,105 paces or 21.5km (13 miles).²⁰⁹ It included a 700ft section delivering water to the *Trans Tiberim* region across the river using the *Pons Agrippae* to support its conduit. For most of its length it was a covered channel (*specus*). This was a practical measure; Frontinus noted an underground channel was less prone to accidental damage and from the extremes of heat and cold.²¹⁰ The water of the *Virgo* was kept fresh and free of sediment using a series of zigzags in the route it took, which, together with the gentle incline of just 0.02

per cent, slowed the flow of the water just enough to cause any sand or gravel to sink to the bottom of the conduit.²¹¹ According to Frontinus, who was appointed *curator aquarum* by Emperor Nerva, the *Aqua Virgo* supplied a constant 2,504 *quinariae* or approximately 1.2m³ (42.3ft³) per second or almost 104,000m³ (3,700,00ft³) of water per day.²¹² Fascinated by such things, as aedile, technically-minded Agrippa is known to have kept a dossier of personal notes (*commentarii*) recording volumes of water flowing to public and private buildings.²¹³ The conduit only emerged above ground beyond the Pincius Hill – below the Gardens of Lucullus (*Horti Luculliani*) – whence it continued over arches for 700 paces west of the Quirinalis to the *Campus Martius*, terminating at the *Saepta Iulia*.²¹⁴ At the terminus a tower (*castellum*) – one of eighteen in the *Virgo* system – distributed the water through underground lead pipes to a set of civic amenities Agrippa's engineers had constructed to dazzle and entertain the Roman public.²¹⁵

Adjoining and expanding the original covered Spartan Baths erected in 25 BCE, a new complex of damp heat baths had been built (map 11). Called the *Thermae Agrippae* it was a marvel of hydraulic engineering. There had been bathing complexes in Rome before, but in scale and lavishness the Baths of Agrippa were the first of their kind and, for the next three centuries, future rulers of Rome would try to outdo them in size and luxury.²¹⁶ The building, oriented north and south on the same axis as the Pantheon and *Saepta Iulia*, covered an area of approximately 100–120m (328–393ft) north and south and 80–100m (262–328ft) east and west.²¹⁷ Only a part of a later rebuilding of its main hall has survived (plate 16) and is visible behind the houses in the Via dell' Arco della Ciambella of the modern city, and its proportions are truly massive. It comprised a series of rooms of increasing heat, starting with a warm room (*tepidarium*), next to a very hot room (*caldarium*) – each fitted with inset pools and raised basins, heated by the hypocaust under floor hot air system – and concluded with a cold room (*frigidarium*) and plunge pool.²¹⁸ The rooms were of immense size, with high vaulted ceilings, all lavishly decorated from floor to roof with coloured tiles and fine artworks.²¹⁹ This enlightened public art policy advocated by Agrippa seems to have proved highly popular for, when the Emperor Tiberius later removed the statue by Lysippos of Sikyon – considered one the three greatest

Greek sculptors of the Classical Age – called *Apoxyomenos* (‘the Bodyscraper’) from the plinth outside the baths, where it had been set by Agrippa, to his bedroom and replaced it with a statue by a lesser artist, the people took their complaint to the theatre where they protested loudly and forced him to return the piece.²²⁰

Like the Greek statue, guests attended the baths nude. They changed out of their clothes in a public locker-room where they could leave their belongings in alcoves. Fitness enthusiasts could avail themselves of the colonnaded exercise yard outside. Keen swimmers could use the *Euripus*, a manmade canal fed directly by the *Aqua Virgo* – indeed, an estimated 20 per cent of the water it carried was just for this purpose – which extended right down to the Tiber.²²¹ The first to try the fresh spring water as it filled the canal and bathing pools were struck by its coldness, clarity and purity. The soft, cool water was considered particularly fine to swim in and the poet Martial declared that it was so brilliantly clear that an observer could scarcely perceive it even was there, and only the polished marble surface over which it flowed, with barely a ripple, revealing it.²²² Seneca used to mark the beginning of the New Year by taking a cold plunge in the *Virgo*, while Ovid hung around its porticoes to enjoy the views of the *Campus Martius*, and to find women.²²³

To the west of the bathing complex, Agrippa created an immense artificial lake, the *Stagnum Agrippae*, but about which little is known. Completing and uniting these leisure facilities, between *Euripus* and the artificial lake Agrippa created a great park called the *Horti Agrippae*. Eager to leave Rome’s crowded streets and cramped alleyways, people thronged the park’s gravel paths to enjoy the manicured lawns and careful plantings, managed fishponds and collections of artworks.²²⁴ Art mattered to Agrippa, and it was important to him that it could be enjoyed by all. He made an impassioned speech during his lifetime on the subject of public ownership of art, about which Pliny the Elder later wrote:

we have a magnificent oration of his, and one well worthy of the greatest of our citizens, on the advantage of exhibiting in public all pictures and statues; a practice which would have been far preferable to sending them into banishment at our country-houses.²²⁵

Among the many items put on display in the new Gardens which bore his name, Agrippa dedicated statues he had purchased on his travels in Asia.²²⁶ The combined effect of the lavish development of temple, baths, canal, lake and park, which together transformed the unkempt *Campus Martius* into a manicured playground for the Roman people, was one of opulence and splendour. It was made all the more appealing for its accessibility to all classes of society with free admission. For Agrippa it was the manifestation on the grandest scale yet of his personal belief in *mens sana in corpore sano*, ‘a sound mind in a healthy body’ – that society’s well-being could be improved through a publicly encouraged culture of bathing and art.²²⁷ Whether he was in Rome in June to inaugurate the attractions is not recorded.

Communities across Italy also received benefits from Agrippa’s deep purse. A building erected at Brixia (modern Brescia) and a new basilica at Septempeda (San Severino Marche) bear evidence of his generosity.²²⁸ At Pompeii, graffiti scratched on a painted wall outside the Nucerian Gate, which include the words *balneus Agrippae* (the rest is illegible), may refer to a bathhouse named after the great commander.²²⁹ Given the thrice consul’s known interest in the pleasures offered by water, it was a fitting name for the establishment.

By 19 BCE Vergil had completed his epic work, the *Aeneid*. In Book 8, Vergil describes the scene depicted on the shield of Aeneas. He finally accorded Agrippa his due in the poetic account of the Battle of Actium:

Amid the main, two mighty fleets engage
Their brazen beaks, oppos’d with equal rage.
Actium surveys the well-disputed prize;
Leucate’s wat’ry plain with foamy billows fries.
Young Caesar, on the stern, in armor bright,
Here leads the Romans and their gods to fight:
His beamy temples shoot their flames afar,
And o’er his head is hung the Julian star.
Agrippa seconds him, with prosp’rous gales,
And, with propitious gods, his foes assails:
A naval crown, that binds his manly brows.²³⁰

Poetic licence might prevent it from being an accurate depiction of Agrippa’s role, but at least his place in the legend was now assured.

Agrippa is known to have written a memoir during his lifetime, like many Roman commanders did.²³¹ Sadly it has completely vanished so we cannot read his own version of the naval battle. Unfortunately also for Vergil, in July of that year he was travelling through Greece and by chance met Augustus' party in Athens, which was in a fine mood on its return from the east. The 21-year-old Ti. Claudius Nero had installed the pro-Roman Tigranes on the Armenian throne and placed the crown on his head with his own hands; and on the banks of the River Euphrates the *signa*, along with the surviving Roman prisoners, were handed over to Augustus by Frahâta IV on 12 May – perhaps concluding the covert negotiations originally brokered by Agrippa.²³² Vergil was persuaded to return to Italy with the imperial family. Unexpectedly he fell ill in Megara and when the group reached Brundisium on 21 September, the poet died.²³³ It was a tragic way to end what had been a fantastically triumphant oriental tour for the *princeps*.

At Agrippa's home, however, there was reason to be cheerful. Iulia had given birth to a daughter, the couple's second child. She was named Vipsania Iulia Agrippina (more often referred to as Iulia the Younger).²³⁴

Chapter 7

Associate of Augustus

18–12 BCE

Dynastic Aspirations

Agrippa's return to Rome was highly anticipated by Augustus. The periodic outbreaks of public disorder had still not been contained and his life continued to be the subject of plots.¹ It had become crystal clear to him that Agrippa was indispensable. He needed his right-hand man not only for his willingness to go to the furthest frontiers to corral the motley confederation of disparate peoples that made up the empire, but also to help him govern the high-maintenance, petulant population of Rome. He realized how completely he had come to rely on his best friend. Privately, Agrippa must have arrived at the same conclusion. It would be years before his son Caius – Augustus' only grandchild and direct descendant – would be eligible to enter politics. Until that time came, Agrippa would remain his most vital ally and peerless confidant, and the natural successor as *princeps* should Augustus' life end before his own (fig. 8, plate 2).²

Augustus publicly recognized Agrippa's elevated status in 18 BCE. When the five-year power of *imperium proconsulare*, originally granted to him in 23 BCE, expired at the start of the year, Augustus saw to it that it was renewed.³ Despite innumerable temptations over many years, Agrippa had remained unswervingly loyal to Augustus. He had demonstrated he could be trusted like no other man. In Augustus' eyes he had earned the right to continue to have authority to govern all the imperial provinces – and the armies stationed there – for another five years. But this time, there was to be more. Augustus chose Agrippa – in Tacitus' words – as 'his associate (*socius*) in power'.⁴ It was a highly significant development. Dio writes 'Agrippa was promoted to the supreme power, one might say, by him', explaining,

he granted to Agrippa many privileges almost equal to his own, especially the *tribunicia potestas* for the same length of time. For that number of years, he said at the time, would be enough for them.⁵

Agrippa was his partner in power. On account of his personal authority (*auctoritas*) Augustus was still the senior man of the two, but their executive powers were now virtually identical. Important was not to be seen as ruling as a tyrant encapsulated by the terrifying Latin word *dominatio*. Augustus was extremely careful to avoid any suggestion that he was a king in all but name, or that Agrippa was his co-regent.⁶ Their titles and powers were those of the traditional magistrates of the Roman constitution. Yet it was also a consummately pragmatic solution which suited the Roman political temperament. Just as there were two consuls of the *Res Publica* in Rome, so there were two supreme caretakers of the greater Roman Empire, and the powers of each were also explicitly defined in law and limited in duration.⁷ In this way, while his legal powers were equally matched by another's, Augustus could not be portrayed as a *dictator* –or worse as *rex*, king.

There were dissenters. Schemes were hatched – or so it was supposed. The regime began to show signs of paranoia. ‘Many immediately and many later were accused,’ writes Dio, ‘whether truly or falsely, of plotting against both the emperor and Agrippa.’⁸ An insight into how Agrippa felt about power and government is preserved in a proverb in which Seneca records that Agrippa ‘used to say that he was greatly indebted to’.⁹ The origin of the maxim is itself revealing. The historian Sallust (C. Sallustius Crispus) – who was a *novus homo* from a provincial family, became a politician in Rome and might have been known to Agrippa – wrote about Rome’s war of 111–105 BCE against the Numidians. Before Micipsa, king of the Numidians, died he called for his natural sons Adherbal and Hiempsal, and his nephew by adoption, Iugurtha, to come to him. He explained it was his great wish that all three men would share his kingdom among them after his passed away. He told them,

I leave you a kingdom, which will be strong if you act honorably, but weak, if you are ill-affected to each other; for by concord even small states are increased, but by discord,

even the greatest fall to nothing.[10](#)



Figure 8. Several portrait busts survive which have been identified as Agrippa. The

most recognisable is the head from Gabii, as featured in a nineteenth century German textbook.

After the king died Iugurtha arranged for Hiempsal to be assassinated, and Adherbal fled to Rome to seek sanctuary. A high-level commission was set up in Rome and went to Numidia to negotiate a treaty on behalf of the refugee, but Iugurtha bribed the officials in return for the best lands. In 113 he declared war on Adherbal and, despite the intervention of a second Roman commission (which he also bribed), he took the city the man had retreated to and executed his cousin. He went too far, however, and killed Roman citizens and those of her Italian allies who had stood with Adherbal. Outraged by the violation, Rome declared war on Iugurtha in 112. Using bribery, treachery and trickery he continued to outwit the Roman generals sent to defeat him. Finally his father-in-law Bokchus, king of Mauretania, negotiated a peace treaty which, unbeknownst to Iugurtha, included him being handed over to the Romans. Finally captured by betrayal he was thrown into the Tullianum jail where he was left to rot. More than a war story, it was a tale of moral decay. It revealed the extent to which the ethical code, which had served the *Res Publica* so well in the past and had enabled Rome to defeat the other African power Carthage, had degenerated: the public interest had been displaced by self-interest. It was a state of affairs Agrippa evidently wanted to change in his own day. The insight that ‘harmony makes small things grow, the lack of harmony makes great things decay’ informed Agrippa’s view of the world tells us much about the man’s political outlook.

To work, political rule by the two associates required not only that concord truly existed between the two partners but also that the Senate and People believed it to be a true state of affairs. To convince them, the masters of image making turned again to the mints. Soon thousands of coins entered circulation, each bearing the image of the two men sitting side by side in their togas on curule chairs ([plate 28](#)), projecting the reassuring message of two loyal colleagues working together as magistrates in the service of the Roman People.¹¹

They also turned to the emotional power of sacred ritual by laying on a lavish display of *pietas* to their homeland and the gods. In Roman politics a magistrate who showed humility and gratitude to the traditional gods was certain to gain the approval of voters. To imbue the regime and the state with divine blessings, in consultation with Agrippa, Augustus resurrected a religious event which had been long abandoned. Called the ‘Century Games’ (*Ludi Saeculares*), they

celebrated a *saeculum*, the maximum length of a man's life, reckoned as 110 years.¹² As the last recorded Games were held in the 140s BCE Augustus had to use the Sybilline Books to contrive the timing to align with his schedule.¹³ The traditional format of the *Ludi Saeculares* comprised of sacrifices and theatrical performances held in honour of Dis Pater and Proserpina on the *Campus Martius* over three consecutive days and nights. In February 17 BCE, the Senate consented to the proposed event to take place during the summer of that year. Augustus and Agrippa, as tribunes and leading members of the college of the *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, were placed in charge of organizing them.¹⁴ A key innovation they introduced was the dedication of the Games, not to the customary deities of the underworld, but to the Fates (Moerae), the goddesses of childbirth (Ilythiae), the Earth Mother (Terra Mater) and the Sun (Sol). This repositioning from darkness to light, from death to rebirth, better suited the return of a new golden age, indeed, of a 'golden race'.¹⁵ The organizers also included the Aventinus and Palatinus Hills for the first time as venues. Showing a sure knack for publicity, it would be promoted as a once-in-a-lifetime experience. At the start of summer, just before the opening of the Games, heralds wandered the city and 'invited all the people to a spectacle, such as they had never witnessed and never would again'.¹⁶ Augustus and Agrippa, along with the other members of the *Quindecimviri*, sat on a tribunal first in the Capitol and then on the Palatine from which they distributed to the people – all except freedmen and slaves – the required purifying preparations. These *lustralia* consisted of torches, brimstone and pitch. The population later assembled in these sacred places and in the temple of Diana on the Aventinus, each person bringing gifts of wheat, barley and beans, and kept vigils to the fatal sisters.

On the night of 31 May 17 BCE, beneath a full moon, Augustus and members of the *Quindecimviri* gathered at a spot on the *Campus* beside the river called Tarentum. There Augustus sacrificed three lambs by slitting their throats and, having sprinkled the three altars, erected for the purpose, with blood, he offered up the victims whole to the Moerae. To imbue the games with yet more solemnity and visual impact they placed a great number of lights around the venue and made a large fire, beside which the priests sang a new hymn. A theatrical performance (*ludi scaenici*) was staged, perhaps with

Agrippa's own freedman M. Vispanius Narcissus acting as *rogator ab scaena*, a clerk in charge of some aspect of theatre management (fig. 9).¹⁷ Some 110 matrons laid on a sacred banquet (*sellisternia*) in honour of goddesses Iuno and Diana.¹⁸ Those performing the ceremonies were rewarded with the first fruits of the wheat, barley and beans.



Figure 9. Narcissus, a former slave freed by Agrippa, worked as a member of production staff (*rogator ad scaena*) at an unknown theatre in Rome.

The following day, 1 June, Agrippa presided over the ceremony on the Capitolinus where the usual sacrifices of two white bulls were offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Then going from there to the appointed place, the crowd celebrated games in honour of Apollo and Diana, and a sacred banquet was held.¹⁹ As the sun set, Augustus returned to lead the night-time ceremonies on the *Campus Martius* with the offering of twenty-seven sacred cakes to the Ilythiae. On 2 June, the daytime proceedings commenced again under Agrippa's supervision on the Capitolinus Hill where two cows were sacrificed to Iuno Regina.²⁰ Augustus led the night-time ceremony on the *Campus* with the sacrifice to the Magna Mater of a pregnant sow.²¹ On the final day, the leading ladies of the state entered the precinct of the Capitolinus with due reverence as required by the solemn occasion and at a time determined by the Sybilline oracle. In the Temple of Apollo at the third hour, twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls, whose eligibility required their parents to be living, joined together as a choir to sing the 'Century Hymn' (*Carmen Saeculare*) especially composed for the occasion by the 48-year-old Horace. It marked the climax of the festival. In words set to music, Augustus' now favourite poet appealed to the gods to preserve the Roman Empire.²² To Phoebus he entreats,

Lov'st thou thine own Palatial hill,
Prolong the glorious life of Rome
To other cycles, brightening still
Through time to come!²³

The festival concluded. The crowd went home buoyed by the celebrations they had witnessed – and would never see again. The Century Games – only the fifth in the nation's history – proved a resounding success. On account of Horace's *Ode* it is the only one still remembered.

Agrippa continued the celebrations by sponsoring ever-popular chariot races on 12 June.²⁴ There is evidence that he owned, or at least paid for the upkeep of, a team of chariot racers. Among the drivers of the sleek, stripped down four-horse racing vehicles (*quadrigae*) designed for speed, were former slaves who he freed – Calamus, Dareus, Fautus and Migio (or Mugio) – each bearing the distinctive *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* of their former master.²⁵ This

was another of the many ways Agrippa added to his fortune and shared it with his fellow citizens.

The optimistic mood continued and filled Agrippa's household too. Between 14 June and 15 July his wife Iulia gave birth to a second son. After the required number of days, Agrippa formally accepted the boy as his own son and named him Lucius. Iulia had now produced two sons for Agrippa – and two grandsons for Augustus. Not content with a degree's separation, Augustus proposed an idea to his son-in-law. Exactly when it occurred to Augustus is not recorded, but Agrippa seems to have agreed without protest. Within weeks of the newborn child's birthday, a *praetor* was called to witness a ceremony in which Augustus symbolically bought Caius and Lucius, a procedure made legal by touching a pair of scales with a copper *as* (*per aes et libram*) three times.²⁶ The two boys were now the adopted sons and successors to the *princeps*. In the absence of his own male heirs, Agrippa's sons provided an elegant solution to a problem that had preoccupied his friend for years. The adoption would also remove any rivalry that could develop between the boys and Agrippa as he was their natural father.²⁷ Dio mentions that Augustus proceeded with the adoption before the boys had entered manhood to reduce the number of plots schemed against him.²⁸ For Agrippa it was yet another clear demonstration of his friendship.

Agrippa's personal popularity among the ordinary people remained high, but many patricians continued to look at the *novus homo*, despite his incalculable service to the commonwealth, with undisguised supercilious disdain. The meanspiritedness of some is revealed in an account of a court case heard that year:

In this declamation [M. Porcius] Latro said something harmful not to his case, but rather to himself. He was declaiming with Caesar Augustus and M. Agrippa listening, whose sons Lucius and Caius – Caesar's grandsons – Caesar seemed to be about to adopt at that time. M. Agrippa was among those who were not born noble, but were made noblemen. When he was speaking on behalf of the young man, and treating with the subject of adoption, he said: 'Once they have been adopted, they are grafted to the nobility from the depths of non-nobility.' He also said other things as well to this end. Maecenas made a

comment to Latro that Caesar was in haste, and that he should now finish his declamation. Certain men thought that this was a rather malicious thing for Maecenas to do, for he did it not that Caesar would not hear it, but rather that he fully took note of it. There was, however, such freedom under the Divine Augustus that there were not lacking to the distinguished M. Agrippa those who reproached his humble birth.²⁹

He then proceeded to mock Agrippa's preference for omitting his *nomen gentile*.³⁰

The Century Games and the adoption of the two boys had been intended to mark the beginning of a new era of peace – the *Pax Augusta* – stretching far into the future, yet events would quickly prove how loose was the leaders' control of Rome's destiny in the short term. Hardly had the summer drawn to a close when a messenger rode at speed to Rome and delivered disturbing news from the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of the Three Gallic Provinces. M. Lollius, who had succeeded Agrippa as governor of the region, wrote to inform Augustus that bandits from an alliance of Germanic tribes had murdered Roman army officers in Germania, then crossed the Rhine and raided deep into Roman Belgica.³¹

Cavalry had raced to intercept the invaders, but in the chase they had found themselves in the middle of an ambush. While pursuing the Romans the German marauders ran straight into the path of Lollius' own legion, V *Alaudae* ('the Larks'). In the ensuing battle, which likely took place somewhere in Flanders or Wallonia, the legion lost its prized *aquila* standard.³² It was a military and public relations disaster, which quickly gained the name *clades Lolliana* after its begetter. Lollius had earned a reputation as a man of avarice rather than one of honest hard work, and for corruption despite his strenuous efforts to conceal it.³³ He was the sort of man Agrippa despised, yet his closest friend found him useful. Nevertheless as a handpicked deputy, the news of Lollius' failure in his basic duty of keeping his province secure was deeply embarrassing to Augustus.³⁴ He fully accepted responsibility and began to make arrangements to leave Rome and take command of the situation in person.³⁵ By the time he arrived in the province in 16 BCE, Lollius had already regained control and, having learned that Augustus was on his way, the

Germans had offered hostages to show they would keep to the negotiated peace terms and retreated across the river.³⁶ With Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, Gallic Provinces, Illyricum and Parthia at peace with Rome, Augustus had decided that a new, more aggressive strategy for Rome's last frontier was called for. Almost certainly he consulted Agrippa on the matter – after all he had first-hand knowledge of the zone of conflict and the ways of the Germanic nations. It was decided that Lollius would be relieved of his duty and, in his place, Augustus appointed his stepson Ti. Claudius Nero.³⁷ At the same time, his youngest stepson, Nero Claudius Drusus was commissioned to lead a campaign against the Raeti who lived in the foothills of the Alps and whose banditry continually disrupted life of the Roman communities in the north of Italy.³⁸

Second Mission in the East

Even before Augustus departed Rome, Agrippa, his wife, children, handpicked household slaves and his lictors were already *en route* for the East.³⁹ Now holding *imperium* over all governors of the provinces to the east of the Ionian Sea, Agrippa's new mission was administrative and diplomatic, but he was always ready to deal with any military eventualities as they might crop up. The route he took on his way to Syria is not recorded, but he likely departed from Brundisium and sailed across the Adriatic Sea to Dyrrhachium and then followed the coast down the western Balkans ([map 16](#)). Ships of the time tended to hug the coast line rather than strike out across the open sea, usually stopping at ports before nightfall. One of these may have been *Colonia Augusta Buthrotum* in Epirus.⁴⁰ The city had enjoyed a long and close relationship with Atticus, Agrippa's father-in-law. The connection with Agrippa was fostered by the city fathers who erected two statues in his honour.

A short crossing over the Ionian Sea took the travellers to the island of Kerkyra.⁴¹ For Agrippa memories of his time fifteen years before as commander in charge of a fleet raiding the military installations of renegade M. Antonius would have come flooding back. One likely stopover in Epirus was Nikopolis, the 'victory city' founded by his friend in the year of their battle at Actium. It had already grown into a substantial city, drawing in tourists from far and wide. Strabo's describes it in his *Geography*, written shortly before Agrippa's

oriental trip:

Nikopolis is populous, and its numbers are increasing daily, since it has not only a considerable territory and the adornment taken from the spoils of the battle, but also, in its suburbs, the thoroughly equipped sacred precinct – one part of it being in a sacred grove that contains a gymnasium and a stadium for the celebration of the quinquennial games, the other part being on the hill that is sacred to Apollo and lies above the grove. These games – the *Actia*, sacred to Actian Apollo – have been designated as Olympian, and they are superintended by the Lacedaemonians. The other settlements are dependencies of Nikopolis. In earlier times, also the Actian Games used to be celebrated in honour of the god by the inhabitants of the surrounding country – games in which the prize was a wreath – but at the present time they have been set in greater honour by Caesar [Augustus].⁴²



Map 16. Agrippa's Travels, 18–12 BCE.

The main attraction of the city was the Actian Monument. Strabo describes its location:

Near the mouth [of the Gulf of Ambracia] is the sacred precinct of Actian Apollo – a hill on which the temple stands; and at the foot of the hill is a plain which contains a sacred grove and a naval station, the naval station where Caesar dedicated, as first fruits of his victory, the squadron of ten ships – from vessel with single bank of oars to vessel with ten; however, not only the boats, it is said, but also the boat-houses have been wiped out by fire.⁴³

The monument was pregnant with meaning. It was built on the site of Caesar's *praetorium* tent at the top of the hill north of the city, close to the temple of his favourite god, Apollo.⁴⁴ The victory complex has been identified and excavated in modern times.⁴⁵ A three-sided, colonaded *stoa* formed a backdrop for a viewing platform open at the front offering a spectacular panoramic view of the new city and adjacent historic bay beyond. On a ledge below the open side a monumental wall, 62m (203ft) long running south east-north west, displayed the cast bronze beaks from thirty-three to thirty-five ships of different sizes and designs captured from the fleet of M. Antonius and Kleopatra.⁴⁶ It is tempting to imagine Agrippa being met by a delegation of elected city magistrates, being escorted to the front of the war monument, each official overeager to show their esteemed guest the great attraction. Agrippa would have noted the inscription above the bronze beaks, now beginning to display a green patina from exposure to the weather, which ran across the entire width of the wall. In large, precisely carved capital letters, it read:

IMPERATOR CAESAR, SON OF THE DIVINE IULIUS,
FOLLOWING THE VICTORY IN THE WAR WHICH HE WAGED
ON BEHALF OF THE *RES PUBLICA* IN THIS REGION, WHEN
HE WAS CONSUL FOR THE FIFTH TIME AND *IMPERATOR*
FOR THE SEVENTH TIME, AFTER PEACE HAD BEEN
SECURED ON LAND AND SEA, CONSECRATED TO NEPTUNE
AND MARS THE CAMP FROM WHICH HE SET FORTH TO
ATTACK THE ENEMY NOW ORNAMENTED WITH NAVAL
SPOILS⁴⁷

There was no mention of Agrippa's command – politically Actium was Caesar's victory – but few would forget his crucial contribution; no mention either of the name of the enemy (*hostis*) of the *Res Publica*, but she too would have been known. Perhaps while he was there, Agrippa was taken to visit the shrine of Apollo and the bronze statues of the ass named Nikon and its driver Eutychus, erected in memory of an encounter Caesar had had with them before the battle, and which had since become an attraction for tourists.⁴⁸ Departing Nikopolis the flotilla continued in its southward journey. Passing the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf Agrippa must have delighted in telling Iulia and his sons the details of the battle and where he and her father were at this or that moment on that pivotal September day. His victory, which decided who would rule the Roman Empire, had also made his career. Coins minted in bronze at Nikopolis bearing the unmistakable profile of Agrippa on the obverse side probably date from the time of this visit or shortly after.⁴⁹

Ahead lay the great peninsula of the Peloponnese. Agrippa likely stopped at a settlement nestling at the foothills of Mount Panachaikon to which Augustus had restored its ancient name Aroe after the Battle of Actium. On this occasion, Agrippa had come on official business. The city, which had played a key role in helping the Romans secure Greece in 146 BCE, was to become a self-governing colony for veterans honourably discharged from *Legiones X* and *XII*.⁵⁰ Under its new name *Colonia Augusta Aroe Patrensis* the city would provide a place for retired soldiers to set up as businessmen and retailers, drawing on the savings and skills they had accumulated during their military careers. Now out of the army these men could also officially marry and raise families and a new generation of Romans, some of whom would themselves serve in the ranks of the legions.

The entourage could have sailed on through the Gulf of Corinth rather than circumnavigating the Peloponnese. A stop at *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* – a city whose sympathies had been against Agrippa and Augustus during the Actian War – is possible.⁵¹ There the city named a voting tribe after Agrippa, and the decurions erected statues to him as patron of the *colonia*.⁵² By offering these tokens of respect, any residual bad feeling the city had for him, or he for it, would be diplomatically put aside. His flotilla may have used the Diolkos, an ancient track way or proto-railway used to drag ships overland across

the narrowest part of the Isthmus of Corinth just as the young Caesar had done in 31 BCE on his way to intercepting Antonius and Kleopatra.⁵³ He may, however, have visited the *colonia* on his return. Inscriptions found at Gytheion and Tainaros (where Kleopatra had briefly stayed while fleeing to Egypt after Actium) suggest that he took the more circuitous route around the Peloponnese.⁵⁴ It is not clear if Agrippa visited Argos and Megara, but it is known with certainty that at Sparta one C. Iulius Eurykles – likely a freedman who had been a *protegé* of Augustus – struck coins with Agrippa's profile and the abbreviated form of his name on them in 16 BCE, the year of the proconsul's outbound travels.⁵⁵ One of Eurykles' relations, C. Iulius Deximachus, is recorded on an inscription in Latin and Greek as *magister* of a new college called the *Agrippiastai* set up in honour of the esteemed proconsul, who may also have become its first patron.⁵⁶

Agrippa's party eventually berthed at Epidauros Limera and went inland to visit Epidauros.⁵⁷ According to legend, Epidauros was the birthplace of Apollo's son Asklepios (Asclepius), the god of healing and medicine and his sanctuary lay 8km (5 miles) from the town. Visitors made the trek to offer votive tablets in the hope of being cured of aches, pains and other infirmities.⁵⁸ Agrippa himself set up a monument here. Though worn, the outlines of the feet of two figures can be seen on the upper surface of the base.⁵⁹ Pliny records that he suffered with a condition nowadays interpreted as gout:

in the latter years of his life, M. Agrippa was dreadfully afflicted with a serious illness of the feet, so much so, in fact, that he was quite unable to endure the torments to which he was subjected.⁶⁰

Frequently in pain, he tried various remedies, but was keen that Augustus did not know about the more bizarre ones he was advised to take which might actually harm him:

Upon this, guided by the ominous advice of one of his medical attendants, though unknown to Augustus, at the moment of an extremely severe attack he plunged his legs into hot vinegar, content to purchase exemption from such cruel torments as he suffered, if even at the price of all use and sensation in those limbs.⁶¹

Risky as the treatment may have been, it appears to have worked – even if only providing Agrippa temporary respite – as vinegar is known to have antimycobacterial properties and to reduce itching.⁶² At the risk of losing the use of his limbs he was still more concerned about not becoming an embarrassment to his friend as an invalid. The monument he set up at Epidauros may be directly connected with his search for a cure for his ailment. Having already tried all manner of medical cures, there was no harm in appealing for divine intervention as well.

The party of distinguished travellers now sailed to Peiraeus (Piraeus) in Achaia and proceeded to Athens. The city had been host to Agrippa on his last oriental trip, and here he found friends and admirers. He too showed the city his philanthropic side. He paid for a magnificent new *odeion*, a covered theatre building for recitations of poetic and historical works as well as musical performances.⁶³ He may have intended it to be a replacement for the *odeion* of Athens' other great benefactor Perikles, which had been located next to the Theatre of Dionysus on the southern slope of the Acropolis. The new building (fig. 10) stood in the centre of the ancient *agora*, the commercial and political heart of the city, and when finished in around 15 BCE its two storey design dominated the public space much like his edifices did on the *Campus Martius*.⁶⁴ True to Agrippa's aesthetic, it combined practicality with restrained elegance. It was surrounded on three sides by a subterranean covered passageway (*cryptoporticus*) pierced with openings to provide light and air (fig. 11). Above it, a covered *stoa* with elegant columns of the Corinthian order along the open side offered a place for visitors to perambulate away from the hot daytime sun, or rain at other times. Inside there was tiered seating with unobstructed views of the raised stage and marble-paved *orchestra* for 1,000–1,200 concert-goers. They entered from the south side of the *odeion*, passing through a rectangular vestibule (plate 35), while the performers had access to the stage via a porticoed entrance on the north. Again Agrippa's architect pushed the limits of building technology and materials. Just as at the *Diribitorium* in Rome, the ceiling spanning 25m (82ft) across the main hall was supported only at the ends.⁶⁵ Another public building, a covered hall for recitations called the *Agrippaeion*, was erected in the Kerameikos district of the city, located just northwest of the Acropolis, presumably at his

expense or named after him by an admirer.[66](#)

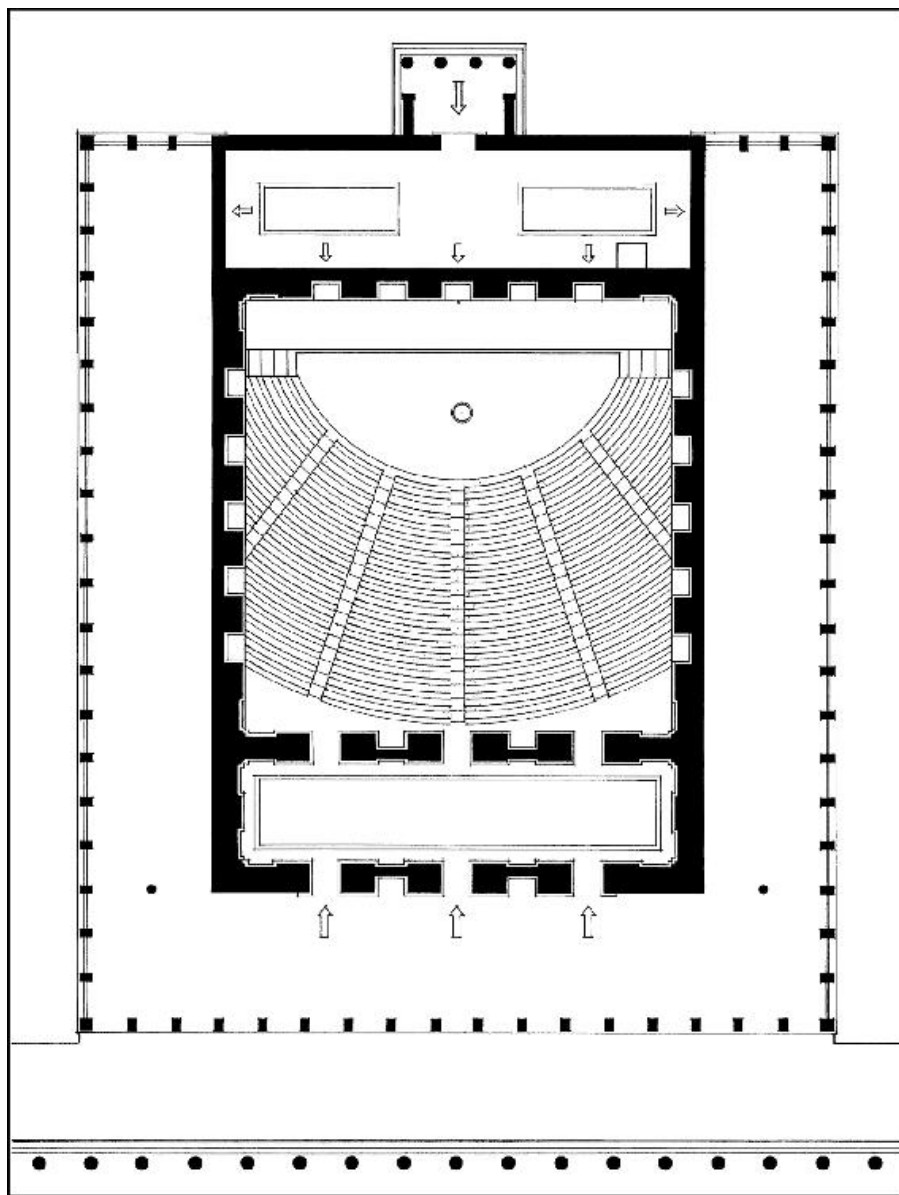


Figure 10. Agrippa commissioned a new concert hall for music and literary performances in Athens. It was state-of-the-art design in the first century BCE.

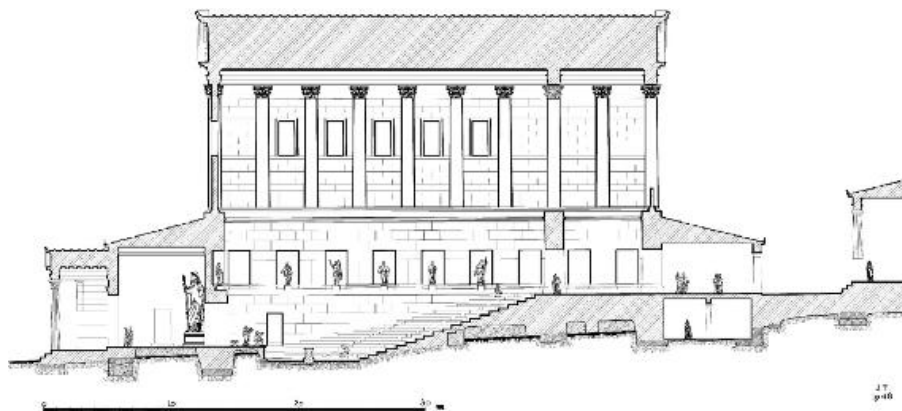


Figure 11. When completed the Odeion of Agrippa dominated the Agora in central Athens both in height and footprint and could seat an audience of 1,000–1,200 spectators.

The Athenians probably commemorated his first visit with a statue.⁶⁷ This time, with Agrippa having *imperium* over this senatorial province, they would show their affection on a much grander scale. Opposite the Temple of Athena Nike and in front of the Propyleion on the Acropolis with its iconic Parthenon, an image of Agrippa was erected on top of an existing 8.9m (29.2ft) high tower of blocks of bluish-grey, white-veined Hymettian marble, using pseudo-isodomic masonry, originally erected by a king of Pergamon.⁶⁸ It was one of the first monuments anyone walking up the stairs to the Acropolis would see, and it can still be seen today. Having erased the original royal inscription, a new one was written in Greek from the *demos* of Athens, ‘The People [dedicate this] to Markos Agrippa, son of Leukios, three times consul and benefactor (εὐεργέτης).’⁶⁹

From Athens, Agrippa’s party hopped from port to port, taking in the sights as they went. He may have stopped at Delphinium in northeast Attica and visited the famous oracle with its sacred spring in Oropos.⁷⁰ Of significance to him was the cult shrine to the Greek chthonic hero Amphiaraos. He was associated with Asklepios and pilgrims went there to seek divine knowledge and healing. Brief sojourns on the islands of Andros, Delos and Mytilene are likely based on the finds of inscriptions from statues dedicated to him or his wife there.⁷¹ Having crossed the breadth of the Aegean Sea without incident, they reached the Dardanelles, likely disembarking at Sestos, where an inscription indicates statues were erected to him and his wife together.⁷² He owned the entire Thracian Cheronese – how he came to be owner of what is understood to have been public land (*ager publicus*) is not preserved in the surviving records.⁷³ The couple may have spent some time relaxing on the island for the winter before crossing the Hellespont to the northern Troad on the mainland of Asia (the Anatolia of modern Turkey), perhaps in the New Year, 15 BCE. Agrippa may also have been involved with the foundation of the new *Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troadis* (modern Eski Stambul in Turkey) on the site of Antigonía Troas by the Scamander River.⁷⁴ Strabo remarks that ‘indeed the city endured and grew, and at present it not only has received a colony of Romans, but is one of the notable cities of the world’.⁷⁵

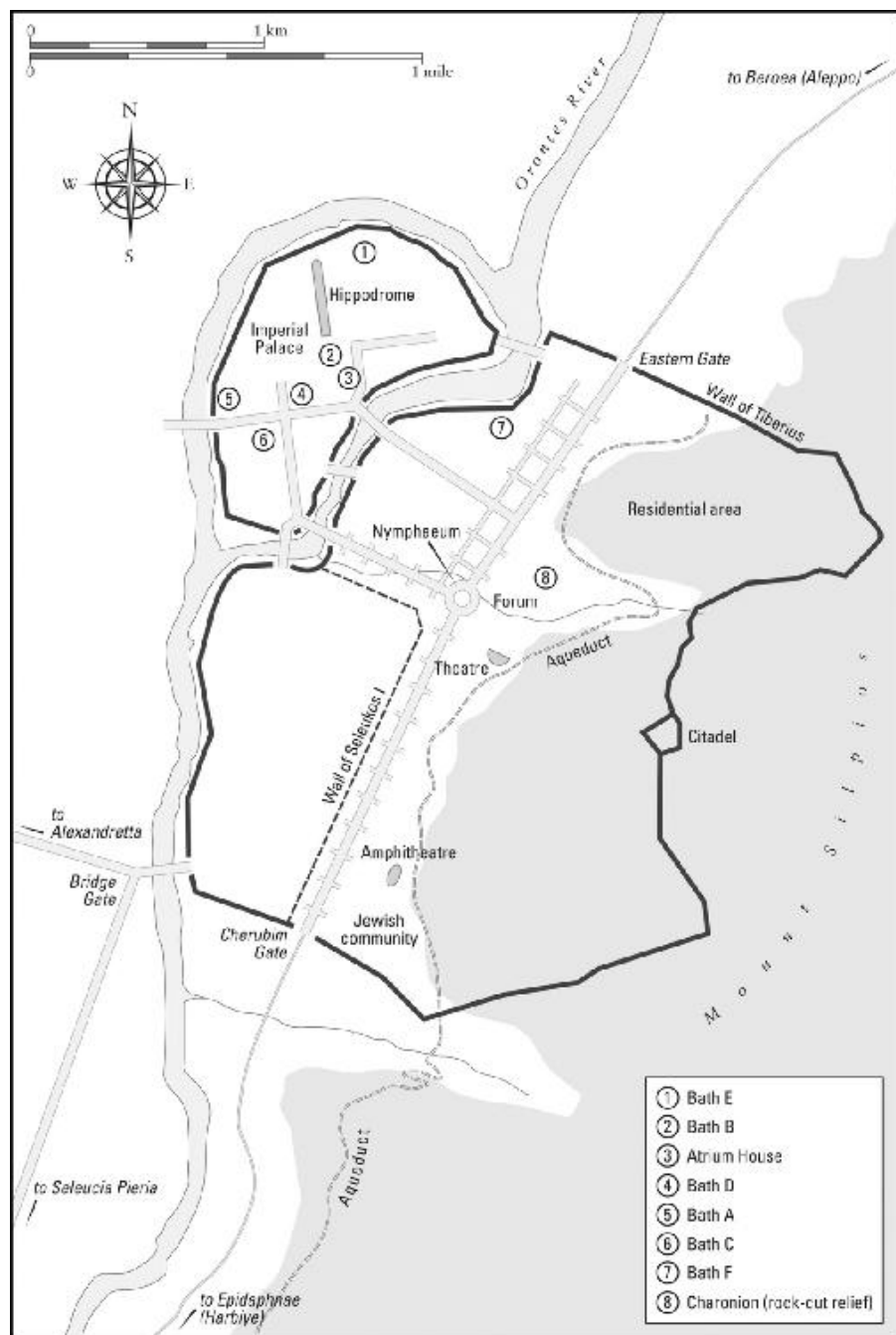
While touring the prosperous seaside town of Lampasakos (near modern Lapeski), noted for its reverence for Priapus, Agrippa was

smitten by a work of the master sculptor Lysippos.⁷⁶ The statue was called the Fallen Lion and depicted the noble animal in its moment of death. Agrippa passionately believed that great art should be displayed for all people to enjoy, not just a privileged few, and he personally set an example for others to follow. He purchased the piece, had it packaged up, transported to Rome and ‘dedicated it in the sacred precinct between the Lake and the Euripus’ on the *Campus Martius*.⁷⁷ He also paid the people of Kyzikos in neighbouring Mysia the enormous sum of 1,200,000 *sestertii* for two paintings, one of Ajax and the other of Venus, and had them shipped home for public display.⁷⁸ The city had another reason to be grateful to Agrippa. In 20 BCE, while he was travelling through the Orient, Augustus had taken away the city’s freedom; Agrippa now formally restored it.⁷⁹

With short layovers as the need arose, the flotilla sailed on down the coast. Dedications and statues of him or Iulia as the wife of Agrippa found at Mytilene, Smyrna, Samos, Kalymnos, Kos and Keramos hint that the couple stopped there on their journey.⁸⁰ In Lykia they may have stopped at Letoon, Myra – where an inscription hails Agrippa as ‘benefactor and savior of the Lykian people’ – and Patara.⁸¹ Along the southern coast of Asia the shipping lanes were free of pirates these days and the seas were regularly patrolled by ships of the Roman navy. Cyprus provided an obvious stop *en route* to their final destination. It was a prosperous island. Strabo notes how its fertile lands produced wine and oil of good quality and a sufficient supply of grain to feed its own population.⁸² Its political and religious leadership was particularly mindful of its Roman overlords. The people of Paphos, delighted to see the wife of the proconsul, raised a statue to her.⁸³ Their calendar began with the month of October which they had already named after Augustus. Six years before Agrippa’s arrival, the people had voted to rename the second month of 30 days’ duration after him – *Agrippaios*, equating with 2 November to 1 December in the Julian calendar.⁸⁴ What Agrippa thought of the unusual honour is not recorded.

Agrippa finally reached Syria around mid-15 BCE. Antiocheia on the Orontes River (Antakya in Turkey) was the city Roman officials usually chose as their base of operations. The city had been founded in around 307 BCE by one of the successors of Antigonos Monophthalmos, a general of Alexander the Great. Later captured by

Seleukos (Seleucus) I Nikator over subsequent years, it developed into a cosmopolitan city. Sprawling beneath Mount Silpios, Seleucid surveyors had laid out the main street some 2.5km (1.6 miles) long, running south-west to north-east, following the direction of the river ([map 17](#)).⁸⁵ Streets ran off it in a gridiron pattern, forming regular residential and commercial blocks (*insulae*).⁸⁶ An island in the middle of the Orontes, to the west of the main city, was the location of the palace complex that was the home of Roman governors of the province of Syria, from the time Cn. Pompeius Magnus conquered the remnants of the Seleucid Empire in 64 BCE; it was likely here that Agrippa chose to lodge. Ranking alongside Alexandria, Athens and Rome, Antiocheia was considered one of the truly great cities of the day. The city's rulers competed to leave to their successors a more beautiful place than they had inherited.⁸⁷ Roman benefactors, too, among them Iulius Caesar, Augustus and King Herodes, added to the material fabric of the urban environment. Through their generosity the city's amenities included temples and shrines to Minos, Demeter, Herakles and Iupiter Capitolinus; a theatre, a *stoa*, a city hall, colonnades, and, in the second century BCE, King Antiochus IV built the largest bathing complex in all of Asia, containing no fewer than ten baths. Crystal-clear water was channelled from natural springs outside the city through aqueducts to public fountains, baths and residential neighbourhoods.⁸⁸ Not to be outdone, Agrippa made his own mark upon Antiocheia. Beyond the east gate he constructed an entirely new residential area, enlarged the public theatre with an additional zone of seating and paid for baths, which were named after him.⁸⁹



Map 17. Plan of Antiocheia.

Ever restless, Agrippa was soon occupied with the business of state elsewhere. He left the city and travelled the 265km (164 miles) south along the coast road to *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus* (Beirut), the first city of veterans to be founded in the province some years earlier.⁹⁰ In his official capacity he would assign lands to the retired soldiers of *Legiones V Macedonica* and *VIII Augusta* to bolster development of the fledgling community.⁹¹ Encouraging the success of such *coloniae* was important to the long-term stability of regions of the empire where conflict was still fresh in the memories of populations, as at Patrae in Achaea and Cartago Nova or Legio in Hispania Citerior. Retired troops acted as advocates for the Roman way of life through trade with local people and by demonstrating the rule of law.

Returning to Antiocheia again the proconsul learned that an earthquake had damaged parts of the city. Agrippa assisted with repairs.⁹² He paid for the rebuilding of the stadium, and on its completion, was able to watch an event staged there.⁹³

Eastern Potentates

Discovering that his friend was only 500km (310 miles) away, Herodes urgently sent an invitation to Agrippa to join him in Hierosolyma.⁹⁴ Agrippa may have politely declined the first invitation, but the request was 'greatly pressed', notes Josephus, 'and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Iudaea, whereupon Herodes omitted nothing that might please him.'⁹⁵ Agrippa's delegation – presumably including Iulia and the two boys – set sail from the port at Seleucia in Pieria and arrived at Caesarea on the Sea sometime in the autumn of 15 BCE with the intention of not staying the winter.⁹⁶

There was much to see in this most ancient country. The king was proud of his nation's identity and religion, yet he was mesmerically drawn to Classical material culture.⁹⁷ He trod a fine line: to rule his own people he had to project an image of orthodoxy, while to the outside world he wished to present himself as modern and a cosmopolitan. Over decades he had indulged his passion for building on a vast scale, blending Greek and Roman with Jewish architectural traditions. Herodes was eager to parade his Roman guest before his work. He proved to be the keen tour guide, and,

entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the

edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebastia and Caesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expense, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania.⁹⁸

Agrippa would, no doubt, have been fascinated with the engineering minutiae of Herodes' constructions. Herodium, an immense artificial hill at the top of which was a fortified palace with all modern conveniences and comforts, and just being completed at the time of Agrippa's visit, was where he intended to be buried.⁹⁹ Sebastia (Sebaste), named after Augustus, was an ancient town in Samaria which Herodes completely rebuilt in the grandest Roman style.¹⁰⁰

The client-king was especially proud of the artificial harbour called Sebastos he had built at Caesarea on the Sea. Begun in 22 or 21 BCE and already several years in the making, his engineers had sunk moles of giant man-made blocks and laid them one on top of the other to form into jetties and breakwaters.¹⁰¹ Excavations have revealed the dimensions of at least one of these 'blocks' to be 11.5m (37.8ft) long by 15m (49.2ft) wide by 2.4m (7.9ft) deep.¹⁰² To make them, his civil engineers created box-like formworks of timber uprights and horizontal planking with elaborate lap joints and mortising, and tie beams to prevent them collapsing inwards.¹⁰³ The inner and outer sides of the formworks were filled with hydraulic mortar, then towed off shore and sunk. Rubble or aggregate (*caementa*) and mortar of volcanic *pozzolana* from Italy was poured into the open cavity, which cured by chemical interaction with the water to form concrete, and stone was laid over the top above sea level to form roadways. On the outer harbour wall the megalomaniacal Herodes was erecting the 'tallest and most magnificent tower'.¹⁰⁴ When finished it would contain chambers with high-level views over this cosmopolitan city which could be enjoyed by Herodes and members of his royal family when visiting, and, on account of its great height, the tower would also function as a lighthouse at night.¹⁰⁵ It was state of the art for the first century BCE and precisely the sort of engineering project involving massive scale and moving water that Agrippa would delight in seeing first-hand. Indeed, Agrippa might even have proposed to Herodes the idea for the harbour – or ways to build it – when he

visited him years before in Lesbos.¹⁰⁶ Agrippa had personal experience of constructing a harbour – the *Portus Iulius* almost two decades before – and he could have readily suggested architects and surveyors to the king who could help him realize his vision using that most quintessential of Roman technologies, hydraulic concrete.¹⁰⁷

The visitors finally reached the nation's capital. Herodes arranged a formal entrance for his honoured guest and personally 'conducted him to the city of Hierosolyma, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations'.¹⁰⁸ The warm welcome for the pagan Roman seemed genuine. In turn, Agrippa showed great interest in the religious sensibilities of his monotheistic hosts. Showing his respect, he offered a hecatomb – the sacrifice of 100 cattle – to the god of the Jews, 'and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be obtained.'¹⁰⁹ The attention to detail, so typical of Agrippa, would have pleased Herodes and his subjects very much. To mark the visit, the client-king had had his friend's name inscribed over one of the gates to the Temple.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, Iudaea worked its magic on the Roman visitor:

He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have stayed longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.¹¹¹

Perhaps Agrippa was just being polite, but that seems unlikely. In Herodes the Roman proconsul had found a genuine friend. In a final flourish to what had been a splendidly successful state visit, Herodes lavished gifts on his guest and then escorted his friend and his entourage to the port as crowds scattered flowers along the route.¹¹² Having weighed anchor, the oarsmen rowed in practised unison and the sleek ships set off on their homeward voyage. There was a long trip ahead of them. Agrippa would not be residing for the winter in Antiocheia, but at Mytilene.

His choice of destination may have been caused by the reports of deteriorating political situation in the Crimea. Agrippa had been alerted to the activities of an usurper of the throne to the Cimmerian Bosphorus located on the northern shores of the Euxine (Black) Sea.¹¹³ His name was Scribonius. He was a man claiming to be the son of

Mithradates VI of Pontus and to have received the kingdom legitimately from Augustus after the death by suicide of Asander, the late king.¹¹⁴ Agrippa did not accept this version of events and wrote to Polemon, the present king of Pontus who was geographically closer to the trouble spot, with instructions to move quickly to expel Scribonius. Meanwhile the people of the kingdom had taken matters into their own hands and assassinated the pretender. The crisis was already over when Polemon berthed his ships at the dock at Tanaïs. Complicating matters, the arrival of Polemon led to fears that he would lay his own claim to the kingdom and the local people resisted his intervention in what they considered an internal matter.¹¹⁵ A battle ensued, which resulted in Polemon sacking the city, yet undaunted, the people continued their resistance.¹¹⁶ Judging the situation to be spiralling out of control, early in the spring of 14 BCE Agrippa himself now set off for the Crimea with a fleet of ships to personally take charge. Before his departure, Agrippa wrote to Herodes asking for ships, and the king immediately and enthusiastically responded to the request, but when his fleet, delayed by winds at Chios, reached Lesbos its admiral found the Roman ships and their admiral had already left.¹¹⁷ Herodes sailed on and finally caught up with the proconsul at Sinope in Pontus (Sinop on Cape Ince in Turkey).¹¹⁸ By Josephus' account, Agrippa was delighted by the arrival of his Judaeian friend, and quite astonished that he would willingly leave his kingdom to come to his assistance.¹¹⁹ With sails unfurled, the combined allied fleet prepared to set sail for the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the far side of the Black Sea.

Polemon was struggling to contain the problem of his own making. It was only when 'Agrippa came to Sinope with the purpose of conducting a campaign against them' and news of his imminent arrival in the Bosphorus reached the insurgents that 'they then laid down their arms and were delivered up to Polemon'.¹²⁰ According to Dio, Agrippa's formidable reputation meant that he did not need to make the journey across the Black Sea in person, however, Orosius clearly infers he *was* involved in fighting:

Agrippa, however, overcame the Bosporani and, after recovering in battle the Roman *signa* formerly carried off under Mithridates, forced the defeated enemy to surrender.¹²¹

With the sources we have exactly what the extent of Agrippa's involvement was must remain unclear, but the outcome was that he brokered a new settlement between the warring parties. Dynamis was to become Polemon's wife – uniting the two shores of the Euxine once again as they had been under Mithradates VI – and the people of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, now as co-opted clients of the Roman Empire, would be required to provide men to serve in the Roman army.¹²² It was claimed that Augustus sanctioned the proceedings, but Agrippa was well within his rights to negotiate terms under his own *imperium proconsulare* over the eastern provinces. He also took the opportunity to tie neighbouring Chersonesos to the Cimmerian Bosphorus securing control over the entire peninsula for Rome.¹²³

As he had done following his campaign in Hispania Citerior, Agrippa sent his after action report to Augustus directly, not to the Senate. Whether it had been decided as a matter of policy by the two men is not clear, yet its ramifications were far reaching. 'In consequence,' notes Dio, 'subsequent conquerors, treating his course as a precedent, also gave up the practice of sending reports to the public'.¹²⁴ Despite what might have been perceived by some members of the House as a sign of disrespect, the Senate nevertheless granted Agrippa a triumph. As before, he declined it. This decision too had consequences. 'For this reason – at least, such is my opinion,' writes Dio, 'no one else of his peers was permitted to do so any longer either, but they enjoyed merely the distinction of triumphal honours.'¹²⁵ Indeed, Augustus' own stepsons were the first to be directly affected by this policy. Nero Claudius Drusus, having successfully campaigned in Raetia, Vindelicia and Noricum in 15 BCE and Germania Magna 12–9 BCE, and his older brother Tiberius having fought in Illyricum in 12 BCE, were awarded what were called 'triumphal ornaments', which was the right to ride into the city on horseback, but omitted the glittering spectacle of the victor's gilded four-horse chariot.¹²⁶

With calm restored among the Black Sea states, Agrippa and Herodes relocated to Amisos (modern Samsun) 166km (103 miles) east along the coast of Anatolia. While Agrippa dealt with matters of state, his wife spent her time in tourism and shopping in Illium – the site of legendary Troy – upon which Augustus had lavished largesse as the spiritual home of the Roman people. Agrippa received distressing news that his wife had been allowed to cross the Scamander River at

night while it was dangerously swollen by heavy rain, and had almost lost her life in doing so.¹²⁷ It also transpired that no arrangements had been made to officially welcome his wife to Illium. The story is recounted by Nikolaos of Damaskos. It was no way to treat a lady, especially when she was the daughter of Augustus and the proconsul's wife. Outraged by the irresponsibility of the city's officials, Agrippa summarily issued a fine of 100,000 silver *drachmai*.¹²⁸ Stung by the heavy penalty, the small city urgently despatched a delegation to appeal the decision, but arriving at Amisus the emissaries were too frightened to face Agrippa. Instead they approached Nikolaos, who was a senior member of Herodes staff, to intercede on their behalf, which is how he came to know of the story. Beside themselves with worry and expecting the worst, the delegation of Illium quickly left the city and scurried home. Meanwhile, Herodes discussed the matter calmly with his friend and persuaded him to cancel the fine and later informed Nikolaos of the outcome.¹²⁹ It was only when he was himself travelling back to Rhodes that Nikolaos stopped at Illium to deliver the message. Following Agrippa's clemency, the ancient city's leadership responded with relief and gratitude by erecting a statue to the Roman proconsul, referring to him in the inscription on the plinth below as a 'relative of the city'.¹³⁰

Iulia may now have returned to Lesbos independently of her husband. On the face of it, their marriage was a happy one. Yet there were rumours of infidelities – not on the part of Agrippa, but of his wife. Suetonius mentions Iulia as having had designs on Augustus' 27-year-old stepson, Tiberius, and that she 'had a passion for him even during the lifetime of her former husband,' adding 'as was in fact the general opinion'.¹³¹ Agrippa seems to have been loyal, even devoted, to Iulia, as his reaction to the episode at Illium demonstrates – but his affections may not have been returned with equal intensity. 'We may add the shortness of his life', observes Pliny the Elder, 'to the distress which he experienced from the adulteries of his wife.'¹³² Tacitus goes so far as to name one of her alleged paramours as Sempronius Gracchus.¹³³ Iulia had, meanwhile, borne Agrippa a fourth child – another daughter, making her Augustus' second granddaughter – probably in October 14 BCE; she was named Vipsania Agrippina (better known to historians as Agrippina the Elder).¹³⁴

For the moment Agrippa lost himself in other pursuits. Rather than

going back the way they came by sea, Agrippa and Herodes instead travelled overland from Sinope across Paphlagonia, Cappadocia and Phrygia.¹³⁵ By now the two men had become close friends. While Herodes was somewhat in awe of the Roman governor general, Agrippa genuinely appreciated the Judaeen king's insights on diplomatic and military affairs. Josephus characterizes their relationship in these terms:

Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things; ill troubles because of his kindness, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him.¹³⁶

At times it seems as though they were competing to see who could be the more generous of the two. As they passed through cities on their journey through Asia Minor, they might be approached to provide financial assistance:

he [Herodes] also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good.¹³⁷

In one case, Agrippa paid off the taxes still owed to the procurator by the people of Chios, and forgave their tribute obligations; and he provided funds as they were required by other communities.¹³⁸ Eventually they reached the affluent port-city of Ephesus (near present-day Selçuk, Izmir). A bronze coin was specially minted with his and his wife's portraits and the legend *Μ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ΙΟΥΛΙΑ* – 'M. Agrippa [and] Iulia' – to mark the occasion of their visit.¹³⁹

From Ephesus it was a short crossing to the island of Samos.¹⁴⁰ While there, deputations of Jews arrived from several Greek cities with complaints about alleged abuses of their privileges by Roman

officials.¹⁴¹ The Jewish citizens of these cities had rights enshrined in law respecting their religious differences. The Greeks felt aggrieved that a race, which despised their own religious practices was unfairly favoured. As a way to get back at them, the pagan Greeks insisted that Jews attended court hearings on the Sabbath and other days they regarded as holy; they prevented the Jews from paying the annual Temple tax of two drachmas and sending it back to Hierosolyma, in some cases stealing the money, and press ganged them into the city militias, even though laws were in place banning such impositions.¹⁴² This was not official policy. Though he misunderstood aspects of the monotheistic Jewish faith Augustus himself nevertheless respected its antiquity.¹⁴³

Learning about the grievances, Herodes negotiated for Nikolaos of Damaskos to represent them before a tribunal headed by Agrippa and other high ranking officials.¹⁴⁴ Herodes' minister presented the case and asked Agrippa to re-affirm the rights of the Jews protected in law.¹⁴⁵ The Greek advocate spoke next. He did not deny that the Greeks had placed demands on their Jewish neighbours, but argued that in the interests of a united community it was necessary for all citizens to consent to worship common gods.¹⁴⁶ After hearing the arguments Agrippa's gave his ruling quickly and unambiguously. Josephus writes,

That, on account of Herodes' good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested anything further, he should not scruple to grant it to them, provided they were in no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without anyone offering them the least injury.¹⁴⁷

In this society of rules and rescripts, official edicts were communicated verbally and in writing to avoid misunderstandings. Agrippa contacted the proconsuls of Asia and Libya to ensure his policy verdict was clearly understood. Through these missives, preserved verbatim by Josephus, we can read first-hand Agrippa's direct and no-nonsense

style. To the people of Ephesus he wrote a pointed letter:

Agrippa, to the Magistrates, Senate and People of the Ephesians: Greetings.

I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the Temple at Hierosolyma be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and those that steal the sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Silanus the proconsul, that no one shall compel the Jews to come before a judge on the Sabbath day.¹⁴⁸

To Cyrene he wrote in a similar vein about the Temple tax:

Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates, Senate, and people of Cyrene: Greetings.

The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then proconsul of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Hierosolyma freely, as has been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them. And if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same shall be exactly returned to the Jews in that place.¹⁴⁹

Copies of the letters were also sent to the offices of his legates and the Roman governors in each of the provinces in the East under his jurisdiction. They, in turn, published the rulings in their own name which were distributed to the cities as bronze tablets then attached to the walls of temples designated for the purpose where they could be read and scrutinized by the public.¹⁵⁰ Thus Iulius Antonius relays the message:

They also petitioned me that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the

will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them [the Jews] to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance.¹⁵¹

The response by the governor general and personal friend of the emperor was no doubt received with unbridled joy by the Jewish communities across the region. A synagogue in the *Trans Tiberim*, Rome called the ‘*Agrippesioi*’ may have been so named out of gratitude to him.¹⁵²

Herodes now bade his friend farewell and returned by ship to his kingdom. Agrippa headed to Mytilene where he would remain for the winter of 14 BCE. He attended to his official duties, responding to requests from his deputies and city officials across the eastern half of the empire. They could be local affairs which required his personal intervention, as in a case at Eresos on Lesbos – the details about which have been lost – or seemingly mundane, as was the case where he restored the rights and privileges of a council of elders (*gerousia*) in Argos, yet they illustrate the extent to which Agrippa was involved in public affairs as a ‘court of last resort’.¹⁵³ In the spring of the following year Herodes returned. Along with gifts he entrusted into Agrippa’s care his eldest son, Antipatros.¹⁵⁴ He was the son of an earlier marriage, and in the tumultuous household with his current wife Miriamne, tensions between her own sons Alexandros and Aristobolos and the other boy ran high.¹⁵⁵ Antipatros cunningly positioned himself to become the favourite in the royal court to the detriment of his brothers, whose prospects of inheriting the throne became extremely remote.¹⁵⁶ Herodes’ intention was for his son to receive an education in Rome and, in so doing, gain the trust of, and form a friendship with, Augustus.¹⁵⁷ Friend of Agrippa he was, but he was also king of the Jewish people. Securing both his nation’s interests and his dynasty meant maintaining connections at all levels.

The Last Mission

Agrippa may have reached Rome before Augustus’ arrival (*adventus*) from Tres Galliae and could have welcomed him in person on 4 July 13 BCE.¹⁵⁸ To celebrate his return, and to symbolically honour the worldwide peace made possible by Augustus, the Senate approved the construction of a great altar.¹⁵⁹ It would be called the *Ara Pacis*

Augustae. That year, however, the *imperium* of Augustus and his associate expired. Rather than create uncertainty, it was immediately renewed along with *tribunicia potestas* for both men for another five years.¹⁶⁰ It was a mere formality as Augustus' stepson Ti. Claudius Nero and Agrippa's son-in-law P. Quinctilius Varus were consuls for that year.¹⁶¹ Over the preceding *lustrum* Agrippa had continued to show his customary responsibility and restrain. He was now ready to become Augustus' equal. This time Agrippa was granted *imperium proconsulare maius*: the enhancement meant his power was extended to cover all Roman territories everywhere, except Italy.¹⁶² Other than for Augustus' *auctoritas* and title of *princeps senatus*, Agrippa was truly the political partner of his colleague and friend – in effect, his co-ruler. Coins issued at the time appear to encourage that perception.¹⁶³

The two men, who had not seen each other for three years, had much to discuss. The campaign to annex Germania Magna, the proposal for which they had mulled over together back in 16 BCE, had commenced under the leadership of 25-year-old Nero Claudius Drusus, who had proved himself an able commander in the Alps.¹⁶⁴ Roman troops were already in action across the Rhine River. Among the new matters requiring their attention was the deteriorating situation in the north of Illyricum. The *propraetor* on the spot, M. Vinicius (suffect consul for 16 BCE), reported that he had managed to contain an uprising of the Pannonii since the summer of the previous year, but he had reached the limits of his ability to prevent the tumult from spreading.¹⁶⁵ He urgently needed relief. Who could go? Augustus had not seen action since 34 BCE, having long since delegated the task of war fighting to his younger deputies under his constitutional powers. Drusus' older brother was consul and, with just a few months left, he could not leave Rome. Once again it fell to Agrippa, now 50-years-old, to deal with the terror in the Balkans.

Late in the autumn of 13 BCE, the greatest general of the age (plate 3), having bade his wife and daughters farewell, headed off to assist Vinicius. By the winter he was establishing his headquarters in the region.¹⁶⁶ The campaigning season was already over, and commanders normally used the winter months to attend to repairs to equipment and replenish provisions. Word that the Roman commander was in the region quickly reached the insurgents. His very presence there was enough for the Pannonii to approach the Roman

camp and sue for terms.¹⁶⁷ He may conceivably have had influence over the aristocrats in the area of Sirmium, assuming the recently posited theory that Agrippa had a stake in the local production of the lead ingots is correct.¹⁶⁸ The *Bellum Pannonicum* was over. Agrippa must have given a welcome sigh of relief. When he was satisfied that he was no longer needed, leaving Vinicius in charge, the general began his homeward journey in the New Year.¹⁶⁹

His route is not recorded. He may have returned by sea from Apollonia and landed at Brundisium or Ravenna; or going overland via Aquileia he may have reached Rome early in 12 BCE, and if he did, it seems he decided not to stay. Agrippa went instead to Campania – perhaps to the villa at Boscotrecase – to rest and recuperate.¹⁷⁰ There ‘he fell ill’, writes Dio cryptically.¹⁷¹ Perhaps his swollen feet had developed complications, or he had contracted pneumonia, or he had fallen victim to plague; or maybe it was just sheer exhaustion – none of the extant sources disclose what suddenly afflicted him.¹⁷² Fearing for his life, his personal staff dispatched a messenger to Augustus asking him to come urgently to be with his friend.

According to Dio, who gives the most detailed account of the unfolding events, Augustus ‘happened to be exhibiting, in the name of his sons, contests of armed warriors (*hoplomachiai*) at the Panathenaic festival’.¹⁷³ It is a perplexing statement. Confusing is that Augustus is believed to have been in Rome at this time as on 6 March he had been appointed *pontifex maximus*.¹⁷⁴ As the *Panathenaia* was held in Athens in the month of July modern scholars have argued that Dio must have actually meant the festival of the *Quinquatria* held between 19 and 23 March since it coincided with the consecration of the Temple of Minerva on the Aventinus Hill, the Roman equivalent of Athena; but others take the statement at face value and place Augustus in the Greek city as sponsor of the annual festival.¹⁷⁵ Wherever he was in the spring of 12 BCE, immediately he learned of Agrippa’s grave condition, Augustus set off for Campania.¹⁷⁶

Augustus’ desperate race to attend his friend at his moment of direst need was in vain. By the time he arrived, Agrippa was already dead.¹⁷⁷ He was 51-years-old, or just a few weeks short of reaching his anniversary.¹⁷⁸

Chapter 8

Noblest Man of His Day

Aftermath

Brother, Hail and Farewell

Augustus must have contemplated the moment of his friend's death numerous times, but now it was fact. It was a devastating personal loss.¹ He was suddenly without the man who had been his greatest champion and closest confidant for over thirty years. For the moment he would have to see through his own grief and console himself by playing the lead role in making the arrangements for Agrippa's funeral. It would be traditional in format but provide Augustus with the opportunity to establish the standard for funerals of members of his family for years to come.² Custom required that a death mask be made.³ Then the corpse had to be prepared for the journey to Rome. This required the body to be washed with warm water, anointed with unguents and a form of embalming to be undertaken.⁴ The body was dressed in Agrippa's best clothes, which could either be his purple-bordered *toga praetexta* since he was still a senator of Rome, or his military armour and *paludamentum* since he had recently been on campaign. A coin was slipped under his tongue to pay Charon the ferryman who would transport his spirit by boat across the River Styx to Elysium for an eternal afterlife. Flowers, garlands and wreaths were strewn over the body while candles or oil lamps bathed the beloved friend of Augustus in subdued light.

The sources do not say how the body was conveyed to Rome – whether by road or ship – only that it was taken there.⁵ If transported by road it was likely met by the civic leaders of each city it passed through and placed in the basilica or its most important temple overnight, as was later done for Augustus.⁶ Accompanying the body on the journey went his twelve lictors – men who had travelled the world with him – with their *fascēs* turned upside down as a mark of

respect.⁷ When it reached the city, the cortège wound its way solemnly through the streets crowded with onlookers. Recognizing his lifetime of service, Agrippa's body was laid in state in the *Forum Romanum*.⁸ When the date and time of the funeral were decided, a herald announced it to the people of Rome in a customary form of words referring to 'the famous M. Agrippa, citizen, deceased'.⁹

On the day of the funeral, as the body was prepared, laments were recited and dirges sung. Iulia – now at the end of the second trimester of her latest pregnancy – and her family and friends in mourning were dressed in dark clothes (*vestes pullae*). Likely attending were 8-year-old Caius and his brother Lucius, now 5. They took part in a solemn private ritual in which Iulia would have called out Agrippa's name three times to the accompaniment of horns in a fanfare of death, concluding with the words *conclamatio est!*¹⁰ Each member present then said their final farewells (*extremum vale*) to him. Attention then turned to the public proceedings. For Augustus' late partner in power, this was to be a funeral (*funera dictiva*) of the grandest kind.¹¹ Augustus, the immediate and extended family of Agrippa assembled and took their places. They were joined by actors wearing the masks of Agrippa's male ancestors of *gens Vipsania* and probably those too of *gens Iulia* into which he had married. Adding to the general throng were *clientes* from his entourage, hired mourners and musicians. The line of the great and good from all levels of Roman society formed along the road. Laying on a bier (*lectus funebris*), Agrippa's body was carried by pallbearers to the head of the column. On cue, the musicians struck up their dirge, the mourners wailed and the line of people moved forward slowly around the *Forum*. At the Temple of *Divus Iulius*, located at the eastern end, the procession (*pompa*) halted and the funeral bed was carefully lifted on to the *rostra* (*rostra ad Aedem Divii Iulii*).¹² A curtain was then drawn in front of it. In a poignant irony custom required that, as Augustus was *pontifex maximus*, he was not permitted to look upon the corpse.¹³ As his friend and father-in-law Augustus stood before the crowd in his pontifical garb and gave the eulogy (*laudatio funebris*). Remarkably part of it survives in a fragment of papyrus – most likely from Fayum in Egypt – and which is nowadays known as 'P. Köln VI 249' or 'Inv. Nr. 4701 + 4722 Recto'.¹⁴ Measuring 10.3cm × 10.5cm (4.1in × 4.1in) it is handwritten in Greek and is a translation of the speech originally

delivered in Latin.¹⁵ Partially restored, it reads:

The tribunician power was given to you for a period of five years by decree of the Senate in the consulship of the two Lentuli, and it was given to you again, for another *lustrum*, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Quinctilius Varus, your relations by marriage. Moreover, it was sanctioned by a law that no one, in any of the provinces into which the common affairs of the Roman people should call you, would have greater *imperium* than you. You were raised to the highest position with our support and through your own virtues by the agreement of all men.¹⁶

It was a reminder to those who listened in the packed *Forum* that Agrippa had not achieved prominence by virtue of his family name, but through his deeds. Whether a second eulogy was given from the old *Rostra* in front of the Julian Senate House – as later happened at Augustus' funeral – and who gave it is not recorded.¹⁷

With the formalities in the *Forum* concluded, the mourners re-assembled and proceeded up the *Via Lata* – 'Broad Way' – through the *Campus Martius*. To their left stood the grand buildings Agrippa had erected for the enjoyment of the public. It is unlikely his body was carried upon the shoulders of senators, as Augustus' was.¹⁸ In the eyes blinded by prejudice of the descendants of the old Roman families Agrippa was always an upstart, a man who had risen out of his plebeian class, and despite having been accorded the status of a patrician in law, he was never accepted as one of their own.¹⁹

Cremation was the preferred method of burial at this time. Agrippa's body taken to a walled enclosure (*ustrinum*) which Augustus had built beside his own tumulus-shaped Mausoleum, and where years ago Marcellus' body had been burned.²⁰ Strabo, who had seen it for himself when staying in Rome around 7 BCE, describes it:

In the centre of the *Campus* is the wall (this too of white marble) around his crematorium; the wall is surrounded by a circular iron fence and the space within the wall is planted with black poplars.²¹

Within this secluded area, Agrippa's body was raised up on a funeral pyre (*rogus*). Augustus may have spoken again, though it is not

recorded that he did. Perhaps he shared his thoughts only with his immediate family – his daughter and adopted sons – for whom the occasion had tragic significance. The family members moved a safe distance away. Then the pyre was lit and flames soon engulfed the corpse. The hours passed, the fire burned out and the body was reduced to ashes. Gathered up and drenched in oil or honey, the remains were carefully placed in an urn, which was handed to Augustus.²² Although years before Agrippa had built a sepulchral monument in the *Campus Martius* in which he intended his remains to be deposited, his friend decided instead to place the urn in his own mausoleum (fig. 12).²³ It was a final mark of the deep affection and high esteem he felt for the man who had been such an intrinsic part of his life (fig. 13).

In the days which followed omens and portents were seen across the city. With a chronicler's attention to the minutiae of the absurd, Dio writes:

The death of Agrippa, far from being merely a private loss to his own household, was at any rate such a public loss to all the Romans that portents occurred on this occasion in such numbers as usually happen to them before the greatest calamities. Owls kept flitting about the city, and lightning struck the house on the Alban Mount where the consuls lodge during the sacred rites.²⁴

More ominously, months after Agrippa's death,

The star called the comet hung for several days over the city and was finally dissolved into flashes resembling torches. Many buildings in the city were destroyed by fire, among them the Hut of Romulus, which was set ablaze by crows that dropped upon it burning meat from some altar.²⁵

Accepting them uncritically as facts, he adds 'these were the events connected with Agrippa's death'.²⁶

A few days after the funeral, attention turned to the matter of Agrippa's will and the disbursement of his estate. By the standards of his time – indeed of any age – Agrippa had been fabulously wealthy. The vast park he had created in the *Campus Martius* and the baths which bore his name he bequeathed to the Roman people.²⁷ To

generate income to pay for continued free public access to them and for their upkeep, Agrippa passed most of his private estates – in Egypt and Sicily, including the entire Thracian Chersonese – to Augustus.²⁸ This would continue the policy borne of his firm belief in the epithet ‘sound mind in sound body’. Augustus, however, promptly made his inheritance public land (*ager publicus*) and distributed to each citizen 400 *sestertii*, making it known that Agrippa had ordered the distribution of cash.²⁹ Augustus also inherited his friend’s household *familia* of slaves – men like Acastus, Castor, Cozmus, Philargrus, Philotimus, Servius and Zoilus – who assumed the *cognomen* Agrippianus and, on being freed by the *princeps*, could pass on the name to their children.³⁰ The large company of slaves, which Agrippa had set up and organized to operate and maintain the public water works, such as the *Aqua Virgo* and the urban fountains, was also inherited by Augustus, who now made them property of the state.³¹



Figure 12. Agrippa raised a monument intending his remains to be interred there. Fragments of it survived for Piranesi to draw them in the eighteenth century.

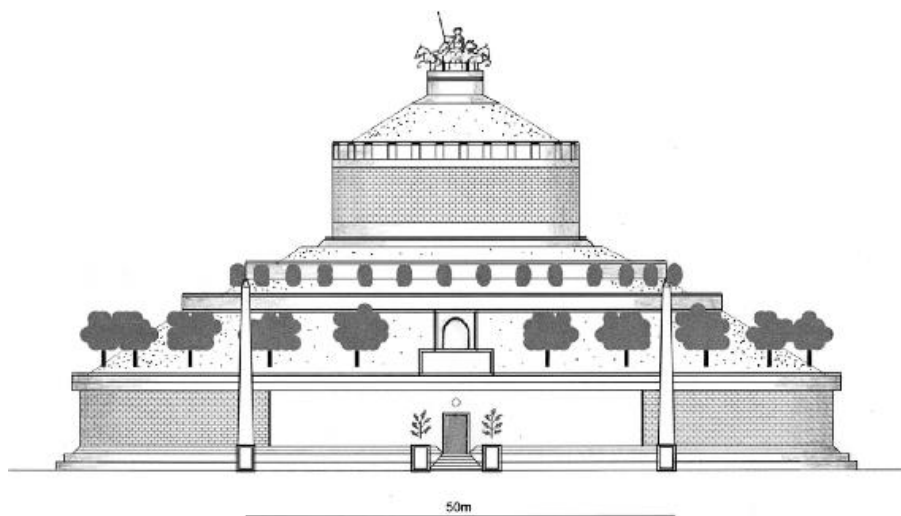


Figure 13. Agrippa's ashes were finally deposited in the Mausoleum of Augustus, alongside those of Marcellus, Octavia and Drusus the Elder. (Reconstruction by the author after G. Gatti and H. von Hesburg).

In the weeks and months which followed the funeral, Augustus was keen to keep alive the name of his departed friend. A series of silver coins were minted by official moneyer (*triumvir monetalis*) Cossus Cornelius Lentulus. One *denarius* shows Agrippa in profile facing right wearing a crown (*corona navalis*) with towers and a warship's beak at the front.³² Another depicts a pedestal ornamented with ships' beaks upon which Agrippa, wearing a crested helmet while bearing a military trophy over his left shoulder, rides a horse.³³ Yet another (plate 38) shows a togate Augustus crowning a semi-naked Agrippa – who holds a small figurine of Victory in the palm of his right hand – with a star.³⁴ He also oversaw gladiatorial games in Agrippa's name – it was common practice for sons to celebrate the spirit of their deceased fathers, but all the more touching that here a father was commemorating his son-in-law in this way.³⁵ He insisted that time honoured rites and festivals should be held as normal and that they be attended by all classes, though often he did not take part in person – and none of the prominent men wished to attend.³⁶ Meanwhile, across from the Mausoleum, the foundations of the *Ara Pacis* were now being laid.³⁷ Its designer conceived it as an altar on a raised podium surrounded by a wall upon the outside of which life-size images of members of Augustus' household and officials of the Roman state would be seen attending a religious ceremony – the very rite that would be held at the altar within the enclosure. He received instructions that Agrippa was still to be included in this depiction: he might be gone, but he would not be forgotten. The challenge for the artist now was how to represent the dead man in a procession of the living.

As aedile Agrippa had seized the opportunity to do substantive good by his city. He proved so effective in that role that Augustus had made him 'curator for life', becoming the key driver in transforming Rome into a cosmopolis worthy of its place as the capital of the world empire. His initiatives to beautify the urban landscape and overhaul its basic water supply and sanitation services, supported by a professional staff to operate and maintain them, were continued by Augustus when, in 12 BCE, he assumed the role of *curator* from Agrippa. Augustus had not been idle. He had been in charge of roads since 20 BCE. On account of their popularity, the firemen (*vigiles*) were made full-time and paid from his own purse in 6 CE.³⁸ The

division of the city into fourteen districts in 7 BCE meant these different public services could be better organized and administered. Modelled after Agrippa's example, the posts (*curatores*) for managing the different types of infrastructure – aqueducts, public buildings and places, roads and Tiber flood prevention – were made permanent.³⁹ *Curatores* were recruited from ex-praetors by Augustus as the head *curator* in the expectation that they would become experts in their respective areas from holding their positions for extended tenures, and given lictors in recognition of their status. They sat on boards of appointed members charged with prioritizing projects, managing what were often substantial budgets, supervising their bureaucracies and teams of slave workers, and sharing best practices.

Work on Agrippa's great Map of the World was also completed (map 18). It had become an important project to him in his final years, so much so that he had provided in his will for a colonnaded portico to be constructed in the western quadrant of the *Campus Martius* to properly display it to the public.⁴⁰ His sister Polla broke ground for the building, but she herself died before it was finished.⁴¹ Augustus took on the project after 7 BCE, seeing it through to completion.⁴² When inaugurated it was popularly known as the *Porticus Vispania* and for years it attracted the curiosity of visitors and intellectuals, like Strabo and Pliny the Elder, itself becoming a landmark for people to get their bearings by.⁴³

The ramifications of Agrippa's death were felt far from Rome too. When news of Agrippa's demise reached Iudaea in 12 BCE, a distraught Herodes immediately set off for Rome.⁴⁴ The loss of his friend was almost as great for him as it was for Augustus. In the claustrophobic, shifting world of oriental politics, the two men had found friendship beyond the diplomatic. Agrippa had been someone in whom the king could confide outside of the circle of his fawning ministers and sycophants. Through him he had an ally to influence Augustus. Agrippa had proved to be an unexpected champion and vigilant defender of Jewish rights. Having paid his respects, he returned to his kingdom. There Herodes renamed his newly constructed coastal city of Anthedon as Agrippias.⁴⁵ Two years later, Herodes named his new born grandson M. Iulius Agrippa – the future Agrippa I, king of Iudaea.⁴⁶ Herodes himself died in 4 BCE, aged 69.



Map 18. Agrippa's *Orbis Terrarum* reconstructed as a map.

Across the empire cities celebrated their connections with the famous Roman, especially those in regions where he had visited in person. At Mytilene, which Agrippa had chosen as his base of operations for both of his oriental missions, people erected many inscriptions and statues in his honour.⁴⁷ On Kos games were instituted in his name and held regularly.⁴⁸ Delighted by the visit of their high-status Roman guest to their city, the administration of Ephesus commemorated it by having the names of both Agrippa and Iulia carved on the attic of the southern entrance way into the new *agora* they were building (plate 36) along with statues of them placed on the top.⁴⁹ The cities of Apameia in Phrygia, Alabanda in Caria, Amisos in Pontus, Agrippia-Phanagoria on the Bosporus, Zecca in the Peloponnese, Knossos in Crete and Cyrene issued coins independently bearing the portrait of the proconsul.⁵⁰ For restoring its liberty, the city of Kyzikos claimed Agrippa as its official founder.⁵¹

In a few places Agrippa achieved near cult status, but not a total apotheosis. Romans worshipped minor gods – the *Lares* – who were an amalgam of ancestors, heroes and spirits of the hearth.⁵² After 7 BCE a festival was dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* on 1 May and a new celebration of the sacred spirit of the imperial house (*Genius Augusti*) was held on 1 August – conveniently the first day on which new Roman magistrates took up their offices and a highly auspicious date for Augustus as it was the anniversary of his victory at Alexandria. Statues of the *Genius Augusti* were placed between the figurines of the *Lares* in the shrines which stood at road intersections (*compitalia*).⁵³ Agrippa was associated with the worship of these Augustan *Lares*.⁵⁴ On Lesbos, there is evidence of veneration of Agrippa as the ‘benefactor’, which seems to have begun even while he was still alive.⁵⁵ His death only added to the spiritual appeal and on the island devotees at Mytilene erected inscriptions declaring him the ‘saviour god’.⁵⁶ The Greek word they used did not necessarily convey the same godhead as the Latin *divus*, but it certainly implied a status greater than a mere mortal man.⁵⁷ Evidence for a cult of Agrippa has been found at Kos, Samos, Smyrna, Sparta, Thessaly and possibly at Lagina in Caria.⁵⁸

Augustus may have paid homage to M. Agrippa in the later years of his reign, possibly to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of his passing.⁵⁹ One of the most commonly found Roman coins is a bronze

as (plate 39) with an unmistakable profile of Agrippa wearing his combined *corona muralis* and *navalis* and a fixed gaze to the left. The legend in bold letters around it is the familiar ‘M AGRIPPA L F COS III’. On the reverse stands the semi-naked god Neptunus draped in a cloak, holding a trident in his left hand and a dolphin in the right – a reference to the naval victories at Mylae, Naulochus and Actium. It was clearly designed to make an impression in the hand. When newly minted this would have been an impressive medallion-like piece of gleaming yellow-brown alloy. Even green with patina the high relief, three dimensionality of the portrait makes the coin popular amongst modern collectors. The sheer number of these coins means they circulated in people’s small change for centuries, keeping alive the memory of M. Agrippa.

Sons and Daughters

Augustus had long ago come to realize that he could not run the empire alone. That insight was part of his genius. He urgently needed a new right hand man to take Agrippa’s place. He found him in Ti. Claudius Nero. Ancient historians portray him as man with a boorish manner and brooding temperament, happier among soldiers than senators, but someone who could be relied on to carry out his mission.⁶⁰ Above all, Augustus appreciated his virtue of *moderatio*.⁶¹ As he had done with Agrippa, he required Tiberius to marry his only daughter. His stepson was already happily married to the 24-year-old Vipsania Agrippina (daughter of Agrippa and Pomponia Caecilia Attica) by whom he had had a son and named after his younger brother.⁶² Despite his protests, Augustus insisted he divorce her. He relented and in a political wedding married Iulia, who was still heavy with the child of her former husband. It was an ominous start to a new relationship, as Suetonius observed:

This caused him no little distress of mind, for he was living happily with Agrippina, and disapproved of Iulia’s character, having perceived that she had a passion for him even during the lifetime of her former husband, as was in fact the general opinion. But even after the divorce he regretted his separation from Agrippina, and the only time that he chanced to see her, he followed her with such an intent and tearful gaze that care

was taken that she should never again come before his eyes.⁶³

To the marriage, Iulia brought with her a 2-year old-daughter, Vipsania Agrippina. In the summer, Iulia finally gave birth to a son.⁶⁴ As he was his friend's son, Augustus decided to name him Agrippa Postumus.⁶⁵ He would be raised in his mother's household with Tiberius' son, Drusus, then approaching his first birthday. With a soldier's temperament, Tiberius was inclined to follow orders. His mission was to make his new marriage work and he tried to be a good and affectionate husband.⁶⁶ Conveniently for him, Augustus needed his talent for military affairs and he was sent to the western Balkans, which had only just been quelled by Agrippa the year before, but again revolt. He would spend the next four years in combat. Iulia relocated to Aquileia (modern Aquilea), a town at the head of the Adriatic Sea and near the war zone, where Tiberius could visit her. She bore him child while there, but it died in infancy.⁶⁷ Tiberius was disinclined to try for another.

Tiberius still pined for Agrippina with the passion of a heartbroken lover.⁶⁸ The youngest daughter of Agrippa and his first wife Pomponia Caecilia Attica had moved on, however. In 11 BCE she married C. Asinius Gallus Saloninus, son of the famous orator of the same name.⁶⁹ Their marriage was successful and they had at least six sons together, some of whom led distinguished careers.⁷⁰ From afar Tiberius seethed with loathing for the man who had captured the heart of the only woman he ever truly loved. She died in 20 CE, aged 56. Tacitus remarks that Vipsania was the only one of Agrippa's children to die a peaceful death, the rest either succumbing to mortal wounds in combat or alleged poisoning or starvation.⁷¹

In 9 BCE Tiberius' younger brother, Nero (Drusus the Elder), who was just about to embark on the fourth year of war in Germania Magna, became consul.⁷² On their mother's birthday, 30 January, the family of Augustus along with the chief magistrates and priests of the several religious colleges, gathered on the *Campus Martius* to inaugurate the *Ara Pacis*. It had taken three and a half years to complete.⁷³ Carved from gleaming white marble, measuring 11.6m (38ft) by 10.6m (35ft), the altar was a marvel then and is rightly considered today to be one of the architectural masterpieces of the age of Augustus.⁷⁴ The sacrificial altar stands on a raised podium within a

sacred enclosure in the style of a *templum*. A single opening measuring 3.6m (12ft) wide, approached by ten steps on the west side, allows access to this altar.⁷⁵ On the exterior wall of the enclosure, above a lower panel decorated with volutes of acanthus, a procession is depicted in half-relief. The good and the great of Rome are shown here: the Vestal Virgins, the *Pontifex Maximus*, members of the religious colleges and their retinues of attendants, the consuls accompanied by *lictors* with their ceremonial bundles of axes and rods, and many other state officials. Following them are men, women and children who are Augustus' friends and family.⁷⁶ The procession is shown on both sides of the external north and south walls flanking the entrance, and forming a single line seen from opposite sides, so that the participants move towards the steps at the front of the altar. The figures are life-size and appear to be the individual likenesses of the actual participants in the event.

On the south side, at the front of the procession is Augustus, shown as *Pontifex Maximus*. Further down the line stands a man, notably taller than the rest, whose body faces the viewer full on as though momentarily waiting; his head – turned to look at the people ahead of him – is respectfully covered (*velatus*) with his toga. This is M. Agrippa (plate 37).⁷⁷ In this pose he cannot be missed. It actually breaks up the group.⁷⁸ He is shown this way perhaps in an artistic compromise recognizing the fact of his death, which occurred while the frieze was being carved.⁷⁹ A boy in a tunic stands behind him clutching the edge of his toga while he looks up at the lady – who may be Augustus' wife Livia Drusilla – behind. Her identity is uncertain: she may be Iulia, or Livia or Octavia or she may even be an eastern princess. Some believe the boy is either Caius or Lucius. Another suggestion is that he is a barbarian child from the East as he wears the style of shoes and a diadem wrapped tightly around his forehead that would be worn in the Bosphorus or Parthia.⁸⁰ Under peace treaties, such children were often handed over as hostages to be schooled in Rome and would be returned to their nations fully Romanized in language and customs to become agents of change in their own societies when they re-integrated at home.⁸¹ If this interpretation is correct, the coded message is Agrippa, is both a guarantor of Rome's word and guardian to the vulnerable princeling.

The Roman boys Caius and Lucius appear, not in the procession,

but on the north side among the mythological figures Aeneas or Iulus who are connected with the foundation of the city.⁸² The *Ara Pacis* is, thus, rich with meaning on many levels. The legendary past meets the golden present which points to a glorious future of peace.⁸³ This is the only monument from the Roman period showing Caius and Lucius with their both natural and adoptive fathers. Indeed, this is the first monument anywhere to depict the entire imperial family – Julian, Claudian and Vipsanian – assembled together.⁸⁴ The joint founders of the *Pax Augusta*, Agrippa and Augustus, are connected through Iulia and the two boys.

Pliny the Elder wrote that Agrippa had escaped the clutches of Fate and survived through an unnatural birth, the risk of death from exposure to war and compromised health on account of his feet. His children and grandchildren were not so lucky.⁸⁵ His sons, Caius and Lucius, were doted on by their adoptive father, who lavished attention on them and regularly wrote letters to them when he or either of them was travelling.⁸⁶ Augustus also took a highly active interest in the education of the young men, teaching them how to read and write, which they did by copying his handwriting. As effective head of state, he strove to set an example as a family man. He encouraged them to stay fit and healthy by teaching them to swim.⁸⁷ Whenever he dined with his family, he insisted that Caius and Lucius reclined beside him on his own couch, and when they travelled with him, they rode in the carriage in front or on either side of his. He named a new colonnade and basilica after them in 12 BCE and sponsored gladiatorial games in their honour.⁸⁸ The two boys were promoted as the young Caesars, and they appeared together on the most-minted coin of Augustus' reign.⁸⁹ On the obverse is Augustus' ever youthful profile, but on the reverse Caius and Lucius Caesar stand proudly in their togas on either side of two large, round, golden shields and gold-tipped spears – an indication that they had reached the age at which they could serve in the army – accompanied by various items associated with religious ritual. The Roman public took the youngsters to their hearts. They demanded that the older boy be made consul, but attempting to respect the minimum age qualification – he was twenty-two years too young – Augustus agreed for to be made *consul designatus*, which he would assume when he reached age 20, but in the meantime he was granted permission to take a seat in the *Curia Iulia* to study

proceedings and given a priesthood.⁹⁰ Meantime, Augustus also permitted him to host gladiatorial games and banquets. When Caius came of age in 5 BCE (plate 40), he was appointed *princeps iuventutis*, ‘prince of the youth’, and granted with it the command of a unit of cavalry.⁹¹ The following year, Lucius was given the same honour.⁹² The indulgent attention of their adoptive father, their public popularity and the flattery of strangers, had an unintended effect on the boys, however. The little princes were growing up to behave more like spoilt brats than potential heads of state, an unintended consequence Augustus tried to change.⁹³ In 1 BCE, Caius, then old enough to join the army, was assigned command of a legion stationed at a camp on the Danube River (Danuvius, Ister); but, unlike his natural father Agrippa, rather than learning the warrior ethos, he preferred to stay out of harm’s way and delegated missions to others to lead.⁹⁴ His brother was sent west.⁹⁵

Always a trouble spot, Armenia finally broke out in revolt in 1 BCE.⁹⁶ Augustus – now 62 – was eager to retain Roman control and needed someone to quickly restore order in the region and to secure the frontier with Parthia. This time he could not look to Agrippa. Tiberius had resigned from public life – ‘some think that, since the children of Augustus were now of age, he voluntarily gave up the position and the virtual assumption of the second rank which he had long held, thus following the example of M. Agrippa, who withdrew to Mytilene when Marcellus began his public career, so that he might not seem either to oppose or belittle him by his presence,’ writes Suetonius – and was skulking on Rhodes, leaving Iulia to her own devices in Rome.⁹⁷ Caius and Lucius lacked the military or diplomatic experience necessary to handle the situation,⁹⁸ his other generals were already committed elsewhere. Out of necessity, he chose C. Caesar as *orienti praepositus*, ‘commander of the East’, The 19-year-old was given *imperium* to carry out orders in Augustus’ name, which had been forfeited by Tiberius.⁹⁹ Shortly before leaving Rome, there was one last item to attend to. Before he departed Rome he was married to Tiberius’ niece, Livilla.¹⁰⁰

Augustus was by this time likely aware of Caius’ reticence to apply himself in military matters, and to offset his diplomatic inexperience, he appointed M. Lollius to be his official ‘companion and guide’.¹⁰¹ Despite his apparent maturity from years of service, Lollius was an

unwise pick. He had a reputation for avarice, deceit and spite, as well as underperforming as governor of the Three Gallic Provinces in 17 BCE.¹⁰² Nevertheless he still had the confidence of Augustus. The highpoint of Caius' two-year tour of duty was the peace treaty he negotiated with Frahâtak (Phrakes) V of Parthia on an island in the Euphrates River.¹⁰³ He was the son of King Frahâta (Phrates) from whom, eighteen years earlier, Tiberius had received back the *signa* lost by Crassus to the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 BCE, the ground work for which may have been laid by Agrippa. The Parthians agreed to drop their claim on Armenia, but insisted that the Mede Ariobarzanes be installed to rule over them.¹⁰⁴ For the moment there was peace between the two great world empires. When news of the accord reached Rome a new coin was minted showing the young man in the panoply of a commander bearing a round shield and riding a horse galloping past an array of army *signa*.¹⁰⁵ Lucius proudly read aloud Caius' letter containing the report of the agreement to the members of the Senate.¹⁰⁶ Meantime, Frahâtak exposed Lollius as a bribe taker, and the Roman deputy was recalled to face charges.¹⁰⁷

While Romans rejoiced, the Armenians resented the choice of regent and now declared war on the one responsible for the imposition.¹⁰⁸ The conflict was settled the following year, when Ariobarzanes unexpectedly died and was replaced by his son, Artabazus.¹⁰⁹ Caius had shown some promise as a military commander in the East, after all, but while campaigning in Syria he was wounded.¹¹⁰ In 1 CE, at the age of 21, he was finally elected consul with L. Aemilius Paulus as his co-consul. Then his luck began to run out. According to one version of the story of his demise, an upstart by the name of Addon (or Adduus) seized the town of Artagira.¹¹¹ Promising that he would reveal the Parthian king's secrets, Addon tricked Caius into approaching the city's walls and succeeded in seriously wounding the Roman commander.¹¹² In another version of the same story, Caius was attacked while reading documents delivered by the king's governor of Artagerae, a man named Dones.¹¹³ Avenging themselves on the treachery, the Roman army immediately laid siege to the stronghold, which managed to hold out for a while, before finally falling to the invader. The wound Caius had received caused him to fall seriously sick.¹¹⁴ Dio remarks that Caius' health was never known for being robust and the ensuing

fever affected the clarity of his thinking.¹¹⁵ In a letter he wrote to Augustus pleading to be relieved of duty and to be allowed to retire as a private citizen. His father reluctantly agreed to the request, and recalled him back to Italy. Aboard a merchant ship bound for Lykia Caius died on reaching Limyra on 21 or 22 February 4 CE. He was just 24 years of age and left no children.¹¹⁶ C. Caesar was widely mourned. Many honours were heaped upon him in death by citizens and city officials of the Empire, including *Colonia Obsequens Iulia Pisana* (Pisa), where it was decreed that the proper rites must be observed for matrons to lament his passing.¹¹⁷ Temples, public baths and shops shut their doors as women wept inconsolably. To commemorate his brief life a cenotaph was erected on the Limyrus River.¹¹⁸

Bad luck had struck twice. Nineteen months earlier, Lucius had been taken ill on his military service in the Hispanic provinces. He died at Massilia (Marseille) on 20 August 2 CE aged 19.¹¹⁹ He also left no heirs. The embalmed corpses of the two young men were brought separately under military escort back to Rome and received by the magistrates and people of the cities the cortèges passed through. Posthumously the Senate voted honours for the young Caesars, and arranged for the golden shields and spears they had received on achieving the age of military service to be hung in the Senate House.¹²⁰ The caskets containing their ashes were placed in the Mausoleum of Augustus, where they joined those of their birth father M. Agrippa, and Augustus' sister Octavia, his nephew and son-in-law Marcellus, and stepson Drusus the Elder.

Augustus now had to completely rewrite the succession plan which he had carefully conceived over a quarter-of-a-century before.¹²² The decision Augustus made was extraordinary. By a decree of the Senate on 27 or 28 June 4 CE, he formally adopted Tiberius (whose name changed to Ti. Iulius Caesar) who had returned from self-imposed exile two years earlier.¹²³ It was presented to the public that the arrangement was made for 'the good of the commonwealth'.¹²³ The adoption by Augustus opened the way for Tiberius to be rehabilitated and to resume the tribunician power.¹²⁴ The surprise, however, was that he required Tiberius to adopt his nephew, Germanicus, as his son (who now became Germanicus Iulius Caesar).¹²⁵ Probably as a precaution against anything happening to – or in his relations with –

Tiberius, Augustus also adopted his grandson Agrippa Postumus (who became M. Iulius Caesar Agrippa Postumus).¹²⁶

Postumus (plate 41) was the last surviving son of M. Agrippa's line by Iulia and his adoption was likely undertaken in the belief that he would yet prove himself a worthy successor. Tacitus describes him unflatteringly, 'though devoid of worthy qualities, and having only the brute courage of physical strength, [he] had not been convicted of any gross offence.'¹²⁷ In the event he was to prove a great disappointment – or so the ancient historians would want us to believe. The curious fact is that on achievement of his manhood in early 3 CE his recognition ceremony, in which he would be expected to don the *toga pura*, was delayed and Augustus did not accompany him to the *Forum*.¹²⁸ Moreover, unlike the adopted sons of Augustus before him, he was not granted the now customary honours of political advancement by five years or the appointment as *princeps iuventutis*. Was there a hidden agenda? There is a suspicion that supporters of C. Caesar were pushing to have Augustus recognize him as his associate and, thus, to block any rivals, principally Tiberius, but also the son of the late M. Agrippa.¹²⁹ When Caius died unexpectedly Augustus was again forced to reevaluate his dynastic plan and so Postumus Agrippa once more became a candidate. Yet he is presented by historians as lacking the drive and ambition of either of his natural or adoptive fathers and instead as idling his time fishing, drinking, arguing violently and generally acting in ways others interpreted as depraved or even insane.¹³⁰ An opportunity to redeem himself arose in 6 CE when rebellion broke out in Illyricum. Tiberius led the counterinsurgency in a co-ordinated invasion of the western Balkans and needed help in the struggle. Germanicus Caesar raised and led an irregular unit with distinction in what was to be the first step in his illustrious military career, and assumed more responsibilities as the rebellion dragged into its second and third years.¹³¹ When asked to do his duty it is reported that Postumus raged at his adoptive mother, Livia Drusilla, arguing the point over and over that he had been denied his father's inheritance. Exasperated by the resentful 21-year-old, Augustus disowned him by abdication, involuntarily separating him from his adopted family. It was a devastating move for the young man. As an *adoptatus abdicatus* he lost his valuable Julian name – since he now returned to *gens Vipsania* – and forfeited the property

inheritance due him on the death of Augustus.¹³² Worse, Augustus banished him first to Surrentum (Sorrento) in 6 – ‘because of his low tastes and violent temper’, Suetonius informs us – and then offshore to the small island of Planasia (Pianosa) near Corsica in 9, assigning a guard detail in case he tried to escape – or hang himself.¹³³

Augustus died on 19 August 14 CE, ‘having lived 75 years, 10 months, and 26 days, and having been sole ruler, from the time of his victory at Actium thirteen days short of forty-four years.’¹³⁴ Despite his mutable health, he had outlived Agrippa by twenty-six years. According to his wishes the funeral was based on the programme he had laid on for his old friend.¹³⁵ Tiberius, who gave the eulogy at Augustus’ funeral, now reluctantly assumed the position of *princeps*.¹³⁶ He had already accumulated the same legal powers as Augustus, which made the transition of power seamless. Shortly after Tiberius’ accession, however, reports reached Rome that Postumus Agrippa had been killed and that it had been on Tiberius’ orders.¹³⁷ It was not clear if it was while Augustus was still alive or when his successor assumed office. Tiberius responded quickly to deny any involvement in his death, arguing he was *en route* to Illyricum when he had been recalled.¹³⁸ Another rumour was already circulating that, before he passed away, Augustus had secretly visited Planasia to see his grandson and that he had promised to restore him to his rightful place in the family. Some suspected Livia’s involvement, but nothing was ever proved.¹³⁹

There were reports that Agrippa Postumus’ personal slave Clemens had gathered a band of men to avenge his young master, but he was outwitted, arrested and disappeared.¹⁴⁰ The whole affair was quickly forgotten. As for his mother Iulia the Elder, while Tiberius had idled on Rhodes, she had been accused of sexual misconduct and exiled to the almost barren island of Pandataria (Ventotene) by Augustus – though involvement in a plot against her father has also been suggested as the more likely reason for her banishment.¹⁴¹ Divorced from Tiberius by 2 BCE and in exile thereafter, Iulia had since been moved to Rhegium (Reggio di Calabria) on the toe of the Italian mainland and controls on her were relaxed.¹⁴² On his accession, the new *princeps* decided not to recall her: indeed, during that same year, she unexpectedly died – presumably of natural causes – aged 53.¹⁴³ In accordance with Augustus’ wishes, her ashes were not placed in his

mausoleum.¹⁴⁴

Postumus' sister Vipsania Iulia Agrippina (Iulia the Younger) – M. Agrippa's second child by Iulia the Elder – married L. Aemilius Paulus, son of the *censor*.¹⁴⁵ It seemed she would lead the model life Augustus hoped for his younger family members, but she too was accused of infidelities – with D. Iunius Silanus – and in 8 CE was exiled to Trimerus (Isole Tremiti), an island off Italy's Adriatic coast. Augustus would not accept the love child and had insisted it be exposed to die.¹⁴⁶

The notable success in M. Agrippa's lineage by Iulia was his fourth child, Vipsania Agrippina (Agrippina the Elder, [plate 42](#)). She was raised in Augustus' household after her father died. Access to her was strictly controlled during her childhood.¹⁴⁷ In her late teenage years she was married to Germanicus.¹⁴⁸ The couple had nine children, of which six survived. She enjoyed a normal relationship with her highly-regarded husband, and she showed her devotion years after his mysterious death in Syria in 19 CE.¹⁴⁹ Rumours quickly spread that he had been poisoned and that Cn. Calpurnius Piso, the then governor – whose relationship with Germanicus was tempestuous at best – had been under orders from the emperor to murder him. After cremating the body in the forum of the city, Agrippina personally carried the casket containing her husband's ashes to Rome.¹⁵⁰ Landing in Brundisium she was met by huge crowds of well-wishers, and a military escort – in accordance with the status of a governor general's wife – was provided by Tiberius which accompanied her on the road to Rome. She was regarded by the Roman people as 'the glory of the country, the sole surviving offspring of Augustus, the solitary example of the old times'.¹⁵¹ In the years following her husband's death she did all she could to advance the interests of her children. Tiberius professed to take care of them as the adoptive father of Germanicus.¹⁵² Her eldest son, Nero Iulius Caesar, initially proved a very popular young man in whom many saw his father reincarnated. A conscientious, but shy young man, he was later declared an enemy of the state and met his end miserably by suicide.¹⁵³ His ambitious and wild brother, Drusus Iulius Caesar, fell under the malicious influence of Tiberius' *praefectus* of the Praetorian Cohort, L. Aelius Seianus, who manipulated the young man for his own purpose. He too died as an enemy of the state – from starvation, having been locked

away without food in the palace.¹⁵⁴ The boys' mother saw her relationship with Tiberius deteriorate beyond recovery and she – like her son Nero – became the subject of a sustained intimidation campaign orchestrated by Seianus and his agents.¹⁵⁵ After she withdrew from Rome she was arrested and exiled to Pandateria, where she cheated both the guards and Tiberius by starving herself to death on 18 October 33 CE.¹⁵⁶

Her oldest daughter, Iulia Agrippina (Agrippina the Younger), who had been born on the Rhine when her father was on active service there, was beloved by the citizens of the provincial capital of Germania Inferior.¹⁵⁷ They renamed their city in her honour *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (modern Cologne) and referred to themselves as *Agrippinenses*. She was married to a senator of the respected *Domitii Ahenobarbi* and their son, born in 37 CE, was named L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.¹⁵⁸ The other daughter Iulia Drusilla was suspected of incestuous relations with her young brother C. Iulius Caesar Germanicus, but was married off to C. Cassius Longinus, a friend of the *princeps*.¹⁵⁹ Her youngest sister Iulia Livilla was betrothed to Quinctilius Varus (son of the infamous legate forever associated with the massacre of three legions at Teutoburg), but actually married M. Vinicius who became consul in 30.

Tiberius ruled for twenty-three years and finally died on 16 March 37 CE, aged 78.¹⁶⁰ He was succeeded by M. Agrippa's 24-year-old grandson C. Iulius Caesar Germanicus, better known by his nickname Caligula. His rule started well and he was initially immensely popular. However, after Germanicus' death he lacked a father figure during his youth and he became a wayward and indulgent child. Tiberius liked the boy and invited him to his private villa on Capreae (Capri) where, rumour had it, life was depraved and unspeakable acts took place.¹⁶¹ If true, that unstructured environment may have profoundly and negatively affected the impressionable young man. While Caligula lauded his mother, father and sisters, he actively played down any relationship he had with M. Agrippa. Suetonius writes:

He did not wish to be thought the grandson of Agrippa, or called so, because of the latter's humble origin; and he grew very angry if anyone in a speech or a song included Agrippa among the ancestors of the Caesars.¹⁶²

His relations with his sister Iulia Drusilla became notorious.¹⁶³ He was distraught when she died, perhaps of a fever which was endemic in Rome at the time, on 10 June 38 CE. Her older sisters were implicated in a plot to assassinate Caligula and, following a trial, were banished.

After Caligula was assassinated in 41 CE, his uncle, Ti. Claudius Nero, became *princeps* in 41 CE. Towards the end of his life he took, as his fourth wife, the ambitious but popular Agrippina the Younger.¹⁶⁴ She brought with her a son by her former husband L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Claudius adopted him as his own and changed his name to Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.¹⁶⁵ Claudius died, possibly from poison administered by his wife in 54 CE, and was succeeded by the young man who now took the name Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, but is better known as the Emperor Nero.¹⁶⁶ He is suspected of plotting to kill his mother who died under strange circumstances in March 59.¹⁶⁷ Nero's reign was a mixed success, though historians have largely portrayed it, perhaps undeservedly, as entirely negative. Deeply unpopular and declared an enemy of the State, he died at his own hand on 9 June 68 by stabbing himself in the throat.¹⁶⁸ After the last drops of Nero's life blood spurted from his fatal gash the dynasty of the *Agrippae*, *Claudii* and *Iulii* came to an end.

In one of History's cruel ironies, the descendants of M. Agrippa fell well short of the fine example of devoted public service set by their tirelessly hardworking forebear. In a damning summary of the line of M. Agrippa, Pliny wrote,

in his children, too, who have all proved a very curse to the earth, and more especially, the two Agrippinas, who were the mothers respectively of Caius and of Domitius Nero, so many firebrands hurled among the human race.¹⁶⁹

A Lasting Legacy

The men who immediately followed Nero – Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian – were keen to distance themselves from the dynasty of Augustus and his associate. It was the Flavian emperor Titus who finally resurrected the glories of the nation's Julio-Claudian past in a series of 'restoration' coins, which began to appear from 79 or 80 CE. Among these great Romans was Agrippa, highlighting the fact that,

even ninety years after his death, the man still had a reputation worth celebrating.¹⁷⁰ The engraver of the new coin chose, as his model, the *as* of Augustus' – or Tiberius' or Caligula's – time with the left-facing Agrippa, wearing his combined *corona murata* and *navalis* on the obverse and the image of Neptunus with his trident on the other side, with the addition of an inscription honouring the new emperor.¹⁷¹ He reproduced the same physical features – the stern gaze, the thick eyebrows and the double chin – and even the inscription of the original. It is only on the reverse that the name of Titus is discreetly revealed. His brother Domitian, who succeeded him in 81 CE, continued the issue into his own reign.¹⁷²

It was in Domitian's time that the first of many disasters struck Agrippa's masterpieces. A fire is recorded as destroying part or all of the Pantheon, as well as the *Thermae Agrippae* in 80 CE.¹⁷³ Work to rebuild them – presumably to the original appearance – was carried out.¹⁷⁴ Lightning struck the Pantheon when Trajan was emperor (98–117 CE) and the fire which ensued destroyed the building.¹⁷⁵ For several years it stood as a ruin. After 126 CE Trajan's successor Hadrian (117–138 CE) undertook not only to rebuild but to transform the Pantheon.¹⁷⁶ The building with its enormous concrete dome, which still stands, is the building Hadrian – or an unknown architect in his employ – designed (fig. 14). Some parts of the old structure, notably the podium, were incorporated into the new construction. Hadrian did not claim credit for the final building but, in keeping with his own policy, acknowledged the original builder and had the great bronze letters with M. Agrippa's name mounted in the frieze below the pediment. Hadrian held at least one meeting of his court and advisors in his new Pantheon.¹⁷⁷ Finishing touches to the building may have been added during his successor's reign, since a restoration to 'the Temple of Agrippa' is mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* biography of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE).¹⁷⁸ Further repairs were carried out by Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla in 202 CE.¹⁷⁹ Even in Ammianus Marcellinus' day it was considered one of the wonders of Rome, and it was visited in person by Constantius II (317–361 CE) in the spring of 357.¹⁸⁰

In the intervening years the great open space of the *Campus Martius* became crowded with buildings as the emperors competed to build bigger and better than their predecessors and the needs of a

growing metropolis consumed the available free space. Only the northwestern part of the ancient Field of Mars remained open and undeveloped. Even here, however, the line of sight view from the doors of the Pantheon to the Mausoleum of Augustus, which Agrippa had carefully conceived as part of the overall design of his park, became obscured by a colonnaded space built in front of it.

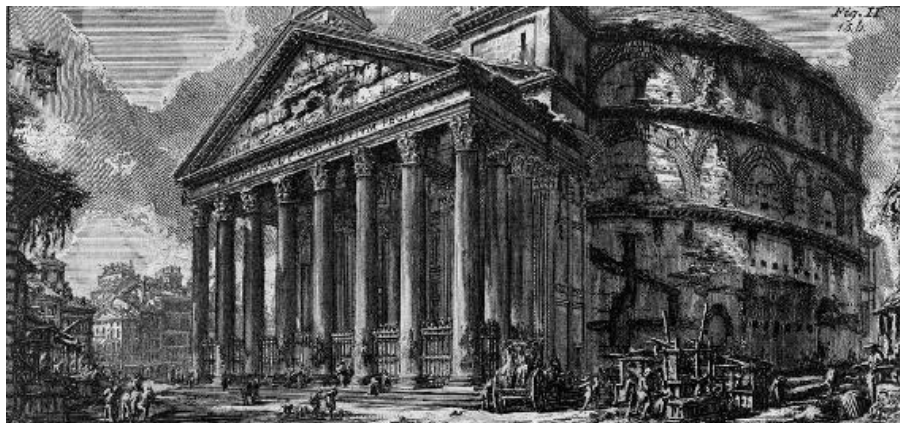


Figure 14. The simple, understated inscription declaring Agrippa as builder of the Pantheon has graced the building for centuries, as recorded by Piranesi for his book on Roman antiquities of 1756.

Under Augustus the *Diribitorium* was finally finished and officially opened.¹⁸¹ In the mid-first century CE Pliny the Elder marvelled at its immense size, listing it beside the *Circus Maximus* built by Iulius Caesar, the Basilica of Paulus, the Forum of Augustus and Vespasian's Temple of Peace as the greatest buildings in Rome of his day.¹⁸² It might even have pushed the limits beyond the Romans' technical capabilities: repairs had to be made to it in Pliny the Elder's own lifetime and, writing 150 years later again, Dio reports 'indeed, now that the whole covering has been destroyed, the edifice is wide open to the sky, since it could not be put back together again' – a fate which also befell his *odeion* in Athens, the roof of which collapsed in 150 CE.¹⁸³

The vast colonnaded *Saepta Iulia* erected by Agrippa had since become a popular place for Romans to lounge and dawdle. Once intended for the assembly of Roman voters exercising their democratic rights, it had quickly been turned into an entertainment complex for public spectacles. Before the Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum) was built, gladiatorial combats were staged there and the central space was occasionally flooded so it could be transformed into a pool for *naumachiae*, or mock naval battles; bazaars were held on the ground where once ballots were cast.¹⁸⁴ Damaged by fires, it was also subject to repairs under Domitian and Hadrian, but it is mentioned as still standing in the third century.¹⁸⁵

Agrippa's great aqueducts continued to bring water into the city long after its status as capital of the Roman world passed to Constantinople. The Emperor Constantine arranged for necessary repairs to be carried out to the structure of the *Aqua Virgo*.¹⁸⁶ When Rome was besieged by the Goths in 537 they first broke sections of the aqueduct to cut off the water supply and then attempted to enter the city via its subterranean tunnel.¹⁸⁷ The structure is mentioned in documents dating from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages and is known to have been repaired by Pope Adrian I (772–795).¹⁸⁸ Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) made much-needed repairs and extended it to the Trevi Fountain, which was envisioned in its present form by Italian architect Niccolò Salvi in 1744, but finished eighteen years later by Giuseppe Pannini.¹⁸⁹ In a salute to the Roman commissioner of public works, Pannini had Agrippa represented in full military panoply with the spirit of Trivia, the source of the water, in the two

allegorical panels (plates 43 and 44), which appear between the columns above the statues.

Interest in Agrippa waned over the centuries. He was ‘rediscovered’ during the Age of the Enlightenment. In many ways he was a man made for the Age of Reason: a rational thinker interested in advancing knowledge through the application of science in architecture and military affairs, a promoter of cultural life and a reformer of society. The first modern account of his life appeared in 1717 in Leipzig, Germany as *De M. Agrippa* written in Latin by Georg Christian Gebauer (1690–1773) and Friedrich Wilhelm von Sommersberg (1698–1756).¹⁹⁰ Other single-volume accounts appeared infrequently over the next two centuries with the emergence of German nationalism and an eagerness to better understand the ancient world and its lessons for the modern.¹⁹¹ In the twenty-first century his life has been most comprehensively documented by Rudolf Daniel (1933), Meyer Reinhold (1933) and Jean-Michel Roddaz (1984).

Whereas the lives of the Caesars have been biographed and fictionalized in a thousand volumes and in some cases have even become household names, Augustus’ right-hand man has been left largely in the footnotes of popular history. His is not a tale of deception or corruption, but of dutiful service and, thus, is one lacking in the salacious details craved by some. In a rare depiction in art, Agrippa was painted by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912). The work of the Dutch-born British artist is typically romantic in treatment, composed of fantastic buildings graced by voluptuous, scantily clad nudes. The setting of *An Audience at Agrippa’s* of 1876 (plate 45) is, however, the interior of a rather plain building of white marble.¹⁹² From a hallway crowded with people Agrippa descends a flight of steps into a formal garden. The figure of the subject emerges from the shadows in his dark red tunic and orange *toga* to be greeted by waiting servants. His expression is pensive but determined. Yet he is dwarfed by the white marble statue of Augustus of Prima Porta in the foreground, which is brightly illuminated by the natural light. Even in his own home, Augustus is ever present. In front of the base of the statue are three figures. A Roman youth in a white *toga* clutching a scroll covers his mouth discreetly as he whispers something to an old man – perhaps a sage – whose gaze is towards the floor. A young lady stands close by with a silver lamp. What does the young man

know that he is keen to keep secret? The artist provides no clues.

Where Agrippa has been represented on stage or television he has been a bit part. He is one of several minor characters in William Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, appearing for the first time in Act II where he proposes, apologetically, a marriage between Antony and Octavia. He concludes with the words:

Pardon what I have spoke;
For 'tis a studied, not a present thought,
By duty ruminated.¹⁹³

Yet he is presented as a schemer and an instrument in Octavius' plan to bring down his adversaries. His language is plainer than Maecenas' who also appears in the play. By Act III he is despatched to lead his army against Antony and returns with news of victory, then in the final act utters a pithy compliment about the fallen commander.

M. Agrippa was introduced to modern film-goers in the Hollywood epic *Cleopatra*. The British-American-Swiss epic drama film directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz was an adaptation of the book by Carlo Maria Franzero entitled *The Life and Times of Cleopatra*, a work of non-fiction. Agrippa, played by actor Andrew Keir (1926–1997), was introduced first as an admiral under Julius Caesar (Rex Harrison), and later under Octavian, played by Roddie McDowall. The producers decided to present Agrippa as much older man than Octavian, and one sporting a beard – neither facts being true of the historical person. While scenes of the Battle of Actium recreated its high drama, complete with flaming ballista bolts, the producers played fast and loose with the facts. Following Shakespeare, rather than returning to Italy troops, Agrippa was depicted anachronistically as taking part in the final demise of Richard Burton's Antony and Elizabeth Taylor's Cleopatra in Egypt. The film – controversial for the antics of its two leading actors during production – was reported to be the highest grossing film of 1963, earning \$26 million (\$57.7 million in total) at the box office, yet made an overall loss due to its cost of \$44 million, making it the only film ever to be the highest grossing film of the year yet not make a profit.¹⁹⁴

Agrippa is a central character in the early chapters of the novel *I, Claudius*, a first-person crime story by Robert Graves who created it from a pastiche of Dio, Suetonius and Tacitus with a large dose of

poetic licence. In the first episode of Jack Pulman's 1976 screen adaptation for BBC TV/PBS *Masterpiece Theater* M. Agrippa was played by the noted actor John Paul (1921–1995) as a close but irascible friend feeling sidelined by the up and coming, and much younger, Marcellus. His exclamation 'I am getting a little tired of being told the arts of war by kids who have only just learned to piss in a pot!' is a memorable line from the monumental television series. Although the actor at 55 was older than the age of the character he portrayed – who was actually 41 in that part of the story – he conveyed a real sense of a hard working, plain talking, but sentimental friend who wears his feelings on his sleeve. In the more recent BBC/HBO drama *Rome* Agrippa – played by the talented young Irish actor Allen Leech (1981–) – is portrayed as the man who helps Octavius in the uncertain years immediately following Iulius Caesar's assassination and falls hopelessly in love with his friend's sister.¹⁹⁵ Liberties may have been taken with the history, but as he was in real life, the fictional character of M. Agrippa is never far away from the man he faithfully serves and always ready to do his bidding.

Chapter 9

Assessment

‘A Good Soldier and His Partner in Victory’

Marcus Agrippa (born M. Vipsanius Agrippa), son of Lucius, was a remarkable man. He embodied the traditional and timeless values of courage, honour and no-nonsense. He deliberately kept his roots obscure during his lifetime. Everyone around him knew his origins were humble – probably plebeian – though that does not mean they were poor, only that they were not from the old Roman nobility. Yet almost as an obsession Agrippa was particularly concerned to disassociate himself from *gens Vipsania* which was his birthright. Why has not come down to us. Perhaps it was some traumatic event – those misfortunes of youth Pliny the Elder alludes to – or the constant reminder that the name of Vipsanius betrayed his father’s humble birth – as Seneca refers to – which changed his outlook.¹ Yet he could never quite escape his family’s name. His insistence on being called plain M. Agrippa even became the butt of jokes. His daughters still bore the feminine form – Vipsania – as was the custom, and all the slaves he manumitted went into the world as freedmen proudly bearing the family name as their own. It is as though Agrippa wanted to liberate himself from the shackles of his family’s past or its reputation and to set out on a course of his own choosing and fulfil a new destiny. His would be ‘a life spent in the very midst of arms and slaughter’, writes Pliny the Elder, ‘and ever exposed to the approaches of death.’² What makes his story extraordinary is that, during these turbulent times, he succeeded in rising from his relative obscurity to become the second most important man next to Caesar Augustus (fleeting, to be his political equal) and to make such a deep and lasting impression on the Roman world – arguably still felt to this day.

Agrippa’s friendship with Augustus is the dominating theme of his biography. Chance brought them together. Ignoble it may have been, but Agrippa came from a family wealthy enough to send him to Rome

to be educated. When he moved the extant sources do not say. During this period, at an unknown date, he was introduced to C. Octavius Thurinus – the great nephew of Iulius Caesar. Neither boy could have known the significance of that first meeting nor that they would become close, lifelong friends and do extraordinary things together. Agrippa's boyhood and adolescence occurred during a period of extraordinary and often violent change at Rome. A few powerful men, like Pompeius Magnus and Licinius Crassus, dominated the political scene and threatened what was left of the democratic fabric of the *Res Publica*. By the time Agrippa had reached manhood at age 15 Iulius Caesar had emerged preeminent, having eliminated his opponents both at the ballot box and on the battlefield. The old guard would not lie down, however. There were pockets of resistance in the west led by Pompeius' sons, Cnaeus and Sextus. Despite the fact his own brother Lucius had backed the other side, as a friend of Octavius it was to Iulius Caesar's cause in Spain that teenage Agrippa rallied in 45 BCE.

Iulius Caesar's war against the sons of Pompeius Magnus provided Agrippa with his first career opportunity. Agrippa may have been amongst the first to rally to his cause and marched with him to Hispania, perhaps even taking part in the siege of Munda. However, the story related by Nikolaos of Damascus has friends of Caesar's great nephew, who was sick at the time, departing Rome first, but arriving at their destination after him. Agrippa may have been among that first group of travellers. By the time he arrived in Tarraco, however, he found that Octavius had not only recovered and landed before him, but that the civil war was already over. In this case, it was an inauspicious beginning for both boys, but Caesar was fond of his great nephew. Effectively just for showing up, he appointed him to the pontificate and made him his *magister equitum*, extraordinary promotions for a 19-year-old who had yet to begin his political career. Agrippa was not so favoured, but he must, nevertheless, have impressed the great commander. On his return to Rome he allowed Octavius to bring his friends aboard his own ship 'for Caesar was pleased in that Octavius was fond of his comrades and he commended him because he always liked to have present with him men who were observant and who tried to attain to excellence'.³ Agrippa now had the approval of the most powerful man in Rome.

The next stage of Agrippa's education was undertaken while the

preparations for war in the East were being made. Caesar intended that his great nephew would accompany him on his campaigns against the Getae and Parthians, but he sent him first to Apollonia to study rhetoric with Agrippa and Salvidienus Rufus. Agrippa shared in these lessons. From Apollodorus of Pergamum he learned how to phrase and deliver speeches. His preference was for unfussy phrasing and he disliked affected or bombastic language. He would seem to have been a good student. Pliny confirms that Agrippa once gave ‘a magnificent oration, and one well worthy of the greatest of our citizens’.⁴ With the forthcoming military campaign in mind, the boys also learned to ride horses and the rudiments of drill from officers stationed in the nearby army camp. It was while in Apollonia that Agrippa dared his friend to have his fortune told by the astrologer Theogenes. Agrippa went first and was reportedly told ‘a great and almost incredible career was predicted for him’.⁵ Agrippa may or may not have actually believed the babblings of fortune tellers, but it may have given him confidence that he had made a good choice of companion. That confidence would be tested when news arrived by ship from Italy days later that Iulius Caesar had been murdered on the Ides of March 44 BCE.

His friend’s future now hung in the balance. Caesar’s assassins could seek to eliminate all of his living male relations to prevent them from avenging his brutal death. Agrippa and Salvidienus counselled that his safety was paramount and that he should first seek the protection of the legion stationed in nearby Macedonia, and then take them with him to Italy to deal with the conspirators. After thinking through the consequences, Octavius decided not to take their advice. Agrippa could have stood aside and let events take their natural course, but he did not. He stood by his friend and accompanied him with Salvidienus across the Adriatic to Brundisium even as they now faced a very uncertain future. On arriving in Italy they learned that Iulius Caesar’s right-hand man, M. Antonius, was in charge of the situation in Rome and had let the assassins go free. Unsure of what to do, the young men sought the advice of the foremost statesman of the time – M. Tullius Cicero. It was then that they learned that Octavius was the heir to Caesar’s name and legacy; but now the stakes – and personal risks – were higher both to Octavius and all those associated with him. Over the next few years Agrippa would play a prominent – indeed a crucial – role in helping his friend to assert his right to his

inheritance, to avenge his adopted father's murder and to establish his own power base as Caesar's successor. At no point during this period did Agrippa show any sign of doubt in his loyalty or purpose.

Throughout his adult life Agrippa faced pernicious discrimination. He first entered the competitive political scene of Rome as a prosecutor in the case of assassin C. Cassius Longinus. It may not have been a particularly difficult case – everybody knew Cassius was the ringleader of the conspiracy to murder – but it was important to win it for both symbolic and personal reasons. Justice had to be seen to be done and 21-year-old Agrippa had to demonstrate he was competent in the court room. There were still many senators who, while not condoning the *dictator's* murder, nevertheless were sympathetic to those who stood against Iulius Caesar's tyranny. For them *libertas* mattered. If he wanted a career in public service, as any aspirational Roman did, a 'new man' like Agrippa had to face down the disdain of his rivals – the *nobiles* – who were his social superiors only because of their old family lineage and service as consuls. Agrippa won the case against Cassius, and he may have subsequently been elected a tribune of the people in recognition of it in 43 BCE. His advancement through the *cursus publicus* was rapid – achieving positions as *praetor urbanus* (40 BCE), consul (37), plebeian aedile (34), curule aedile (33), consul again (28), *censor* (28) and consul for the third time (27). He was granted *imperium proconsulare* (23) for five years for his assignment in the orient, which was renewed (in 18) along with his tribunician power, and finally given *imperium proconsulare maius* across the entire Roman world (13). Yet the *nobiles'* contempt for him endured throughout his career. Maybe it was a form of protest at the fact he was the friend of Iulius Caesar's heir which gave him privileged access, that, in their opinion, he had not earned his position of influence and had sidestepped the rules for joining the Senate. Perhaps in a conscious act of defiance to them, after his victory in the Cantabrian and Asturian War he sent his after action report, not to the Senate as was customary, but directly to Augustus. He did it again after successfully quelling the revolt in the Crimea five years later. After his death these petty-minded men refused to attend games for him in a last snub at the man they had delighted in denigrating and belittling over many decades.

Agrippa embodied many of the qualities Romans – especially the

nobiles – admired in a man. Velleius Paterculus describes him as ‘a man of distinguished character’ and writes ‘though a “new man” he had by his many achievements brought distinction upon his obscure birth’.⁶ Seneca describes him in almost spiritual terms as a ‘great-souled man’.⁷ Dio writes of him ‘in every way clearly [he had] shown himself the noblest of the men of his day’.⁸ Horace calls him a ‘cunning fox imitating a noble lion’.⁹ This is how strangers viewed him. Speaking as his friend, Augustus himself stated in his eulogy that Agrippa had been raised to the highest position of the state, not just with his support, but through his own virtues with the agreement of all men – at least all the men that mattered.¹⁰

‘A good soldier and his partner in victory’ is Tacitus’ sober but pithy assessment of Agrippa, ‘the modest and faithful marshal’ is Ronald Syme’s.¹¹ He proved to be a very able military commander both on land *and* sea – a feat which marked him out as exceptional among Roman generals. He learned the arts of war the hard way – as all his contemporaries did – by putting himself in harm’s way and replicating the examples of others. On land, he began his career as a leader unglamorously as a recruiter, approaching retired veterans in Campania who had served with Iulius Caesar from *Legiones VII* and *VIII* and persuading them to join the cause of his friend. It is not clear if he was an active combatant at Philippi in 42 BCE, at which the conspirators were finally crushed, but his first recorded military command was to take four legions and defeat L. Antonius who was intent on stopping the new Caesar. Marching his 24,000 men to Sutrium, Agrippa planned a co-ordinated attack with Salvidienus. He was soon to learn that the best plans can unravel. Despite being drawn into the carefully laid trap, Lucius still managed to escape. On Agrippa’s next mission, however, he proved he had what it took. At the siege of Fulginiae his leadership skills outwitted the vastly more experienced defending generals P. Ventidius Bassus and C. Asinius Pollio. The objective was taken and, for his success, Agrippa was appointed *praetor urbanus*. During the Illyrian War he played a largely supporting role to his colleague, such as at the siege of Metulus. In the subsequent campaigns he led as commander he was sent to squash insurrections in Aquitania (38 BCE), Illyricum (35), Germania (37), Cantabria (19) and Illyricum (13) again, and he was successful in all theatres of operation. Remarkable is that both in the Cimmerian

Bosporus (Crimea) in 14 BCE and Illyricum in 13 the threat of his arrival alone was enough to bring his opponent to seek terms. At every opportunity he displayed his personal courage as many men of nobler birth in his day aspired to show, but often failed to. The foremost scholar of Augustus in modern times writes of his demonstration of *virtus* that 'Agrippa was the real thing and more'.¹²

Although the surviving ancient accounts of the land and sea battles Agrippa fought in are vaguely described, they contain enough information for us to judge that he had sound technical skills as a commander in strategic and tactical planning, battlefield communications, delivery of force and other aspects. Given a mission, he could mobilize the chain of command to execute it. He was 'well disciplined in obedience, but to one man alone [Augustus], yet eager to command others', writes Velleius Paterculus.¹³ One of his strengths was the ability to critically assess a situation before committing resources. On arriving in northern Spain in 19 BCE to deal with the uprising of Astures and Cantabri he quickly identified that he had to address low morale and overdue veteran retirements even before he could embark on redirecting the military campaign which had failed to bring the rebels to heel. Some commanders would have resorted to harsh disciplinary measures and corporal punishment: not Agrippa. Through a combination of selectively issuing reprimands – he dealt with the insubordination of one legion by stripping it of its coveted battle honour *Augusta* – and delivering motivational speeches, he won the men over and restored discipline. Only then could he begin the campaign. He determined that the insurgents had to be flushed out from the hills and down into the lowlands where they could be beaten in open battle. In that he succeeded because he had addressed the human factors issues first.

In operational planning Agrippa excelled. It was a quality that Augustus recognized early. Before embarking on the struggle against Sex. Pompeius he was placed in charge of raising a fleet in 37 BCE. The communities of Italy were pressed to provide vessels, but Agrippa realized that ships alone would not win the war. He needed trained men to sail them and marines who could fight aboard them. To this end he built the harbour complex near Cumae at *Portus Iulius* in record time by connecting two inland lakes by a canal to a natural bay. Ships, the hulls of which had been built elsewhere in Italy, were outfitted

with their decks and final equipment at *Portus*. Soldiers used to fighting on land gained their sea legs while some 20,000 freedmen were trained from scratch to be oarsmen. It was a massive undertaking, but Agrippa approached the project with his characteristic tireless enthusiasm and undistracted attention.¹⁴

Agrippa was not a rash general, but he was prepared to take calculated personal risks to win, in the process demonstrating his personal courage. One of Augustus' favourite sayings was the Greek maxim 'better a safe commander than a bold one'.¹⁵ On many occasions Agrippa managed to combine both safety and boldness in his actions. In the War against Sex. Pompeius he actively sought to pick a fight with his opponent's deputy Papias at Mylae. As this was Agrippa's first naval engagement his instinct was to approach the mission with caution. He took just half his fleet and kept the rest in reserve at Hiera. He directed his own flagship to bear down directly on his opponent's and 'struck his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking a hole in the keel'.¹⁶ Much as he wanted to follow up on his victory at Mylae and cast anchor in open sea to form a blockade, however, he took his pilots' advice. They advised him against exposing the ships to danger from the unpredictable sea and also of wearing out his crews. Instead he made for a safe harbour, which did not diminish his victory, but conserved his fleet in readiness for the next action. His large, heavy ships were almost outmanoeuvred by Sex. Pompeius' smaller and lighter vessels, and he nearly lost on the first occasion, but daring and persistence won that battle and would again at Naulochus. Agrippa learned the lessons from both engagements. Five years later he invested in smaller, faster ships and adopted the tactics of the renegade Sextus to harry the coast of Epirus and Peloponnese, capturing Kerkyra, Leukas and Methone, and to intercept ships supplying his opponent. In the actual Battle of Actium he personally plunged into the thick of battle where he stayed until the enemy 'gave up the fight at the tenth hour'.¹⁷

The eminent modern historian Andrew Wallace-Hadrill writes, that from the way the ancient historians describe it, 'Actium was not much of a battle'.¹⁸ Ronald Syme went further describing it as a 'shabby affair, the worthy climax to the ignoble propaganda against Cleopatra, to the worn and sacred union of Italy'.¹⁹ These assessments underestimate the high stakes that Caesar's heir and his admiral

placed on achieving a successful outcome in the Gulf of Ambracia. Had they lost, Antonius and Kleopatra would have had an unobstructed line of attack against Italy. With almost equal numbers of ships and as many ground troops, it was not at all certain at the start of 2 September 31 BCE who would win. Scholars still debate whether Antonius intended all along to break through Agrippa's blockade taking the treasure with him and fight another day, or that he intended to fight and win there, but sensing defeat, he leapt aboard the Egyptian queen's fast flagship and escaped. At that moment Agrippa's leadership was crucial. He did not chase after them as many lesser generals would have, but stuck to the agreed battle plan and remained to achieve the strategic imperative, which was to reduce and destroy his opponents' ability to fight and drag out the war. His decision to use smaller, lighter vessels enabled him to take advantage of the confusion on his opponent's side by driving his ships at speed deep within their lines. Despite the loss of their commander, Antonius' captains and marines were loyal to him and committed to fighting on. The enemy's remaining fleet was only routed after a bitterly fought engagement – by the bloody business of ramming ships, shooting airborne missiles and lobbing firebrands, all at close range – with great loss of life and equipment on both sides. With the destruction of the enemy's fleet and the flight of its commander-in-chief the conditions were set up for the surrender of the land forces – nineteen legions, in fact – stranded in Greece. Left with only their army in Egypt, Antonius and Kleopatra no longer had critical mass to stop Julius Caesar's heir in the final phase of the war.

Actium was the turning point in the conflict. Dio states that it represented a chronological 'Year 0' and the years of Augustus' reign were reckoned from it.²⁰ Actium became a *cause célèbre*. Syme argues that the heir of Julius Caesar desperately needed a victory to outshine all others in history, and thus he presented Actium as a great naval battle, as a clash of East versus West, of good (Romans) against bad (foreigners), and imbued the event with more importance than it truly merited.²¹ Wallace-Hadrill argues that the true significance of Actium was that it established a new creation myth – the legend of the man who established a new world order, of Augustus as saviour of the city of Rome, of its gods and its civilization from destruction – and encouraged its celebration in coins, cities, monuments and poems.²²

As commander on the winning side, Agrippa himself played a crucial role in propagating the mythology of the battle as an inflexion point in world history. Whenever he travelled on missions aboard a ship his sea-blue ensign fluttering in the wind was a constant reminder to all that here was the victorious admiral of Actium. Indeed, it can be argued that years after the battle, the *Res Publica* remained in a constant state of vigilance of the threat of war. In this, as Augustus' colleague, Agrippa was ever ready to meet it from wherever it might come – within or without.

Augustus' other favourite saying, 'that is done quickly enough which is done well enough,' might also apply to Agrippa.²³ Preparation made all the difference, raising the odds in Agrippa's favour and often winning him a greater prize. In 19 BCE, when approached by the Ubii – who were allies of Rome – to assist them against the aggressions of neighbouring tribes, Agrippa led his men directly and without delay on a punitive raid into Germania, becoming only 'the second of the Romans to cross the Rhenus River for war' – the other being Iulius Caesar.²⁴ Agrippa granted the Ubii sanctuary within the Roman Empire, but the resettlement agreement came with obligations. He required them to patrol their section of the river and obliged them to provide troops for the army. Five years later, when he learned that Scribonius had taken control of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, he quickly rallied his local resources among the client kings before thrusting himself into the centre of the conflict. He called upon Polemon to move on the usurper, and meantime requested Herodes to join him with his fleet. At that point the mere threat of Agrippa's arrival, however, was enough to provoke the resistance against Polemon into seeking terms. The result turned out very favourable indeed, securing control over the entire Crimean peninsula for Rome and more troops for her army.

'Chief Operating Officer' of the Roman Empire

If the Roman Empire were likened to a large multinational corporation, Augustus was its chairman and chief executive officer (CEO) and Agrippa was its chief operating officer (COO) or president.²⁵ As the best senior executive he shared a vision for his organization with the CEO, but was focused on operational results, on getting things done. Debate continues amongst scholars about whether

Augustus had a grand strategy for the Roman Empire. Evident from Agrippa's career is that the emphasis in domestic and foreign policy immediately after the Actian War of 31 BCE was on consolidation and stabilization, not expansion. It was an appropriate response to years of devastating civil war. Roman society needed time to heal. With the oligarchs gone, Augustus and Agrippa 'retuned' the *Res Publica*, removing many of the causes of its instability. As censors the two men purged the Senate, of course to remove opposition, but also to reduce its size and the complexity of its decision making. Agrippa was an active partner in helping Augustus to garner the legal powers and the Constitutional Settlements which he needed to achieve his national social and security policy agenda. Short-term goals based on satisfying individual vested interests were replaced with longer range goals based on sustainability. In keeping with these Agrippa did not promote policies aimed at expanding Roman territory. During his lifetime Agrippa mostly fought *defensive* wars, defeating internal threats such as Sex. Pompeius or Antonius and Kleopatra, or quelling rebellions such as in Aquitania or Cantabria. He worked diplomatically with allies such as the client kings Herodes and Polemon to bolster the buffers between the world directly controlled by Rome and the potential threats to it from beyond its borders – peaceful co-existence, not aggression. Perhaps because domestic stabilization had been achieved in the final years of his life there was a shift to an expansionary foreign policy. Nero Claudius Drusus was sent on a mission in 15 BCE to annex Raetia, and – with his brother Tiberius – to Vindelicia and Noricum, and, having completed it successfully, was ordered to take Germania Magna. There is no record that Agrippa objected to the change, and, as Rome's most accomplished commander of the age, it is quite likely he was a key advisor on strategic aspects of these campaigns.

In his actions Agrippa displayed a belief that Roman civilization had a deeper purpose. He was a man of principle, what modern commentators would call a conviction politician. Dio writes that he 'had used the friendship of Augustus with a view to the greatest advantage both of the emperor himself and of the *Res Publica*'.²⁶ His urban improvement programme was not limited to the city within the *pomerium* of Rome. The great project of forging a universal empire, a commonwealth of disparate nations, required its self-governing

constituent communities to operate under Roman law in order to receive the benefits of peace and prosperity. He actively promoted those benefits. Whether it was building roads in Gaul, or paying for large public buildings in Baetica, Lusitania or Narbonensis, or bolstering the new *coloniae* of veterans in Achaëa and Syria, supporting bankrupt cities in Asia or assisting Antiocheia after an earthquake, Agrippa understood the value of direct assistance in fostering goodwill to Rome, using his own wealth to do so. In return many recognized him on monuments, as they did in Athens, as a ‘benefactor’ (εὐεργέτης) or on Lesbos as ‘saviour god’ (Θεός Σωτήρ). He seems to have been fair and even handed in his dealings. As his treatment of the Jews shows, Agrippa unequivocally displayed the virtue of *aequitas*, the belief that acting fairly within government and with the people was intrinsically and morally right. He dealt with the clear violations of privileges accorded the Jews with respect to the Temple Tax quickly and with firmness. He followed up on his ruling by writing to each of the provincial administrations to enforce the rule.

In Rome his election as aedile in 34 and 33 BCE gave him the authority to direct a programme of much needed restorations to existing public infrastructure and to raise new buildings. The *Campus Martius* had provided Pompeius Magnus with land on which to build his great theatre complex. Iulius Caesar had had designs on the public space too, intending to change the course of the Tiber River to prevent it flooding, and to rebuild the structure in which the people voted. Agrippa did not merely want to follow in their footsteps. He wanted to *outdo* them. Whatever he turned his mind to he wanted it bigger and he wanted it faster than what had come before. He was fascinated, perhaps obsessed with building on a grand – even a megalomaniacal – scale. One of the first to be overhauled was the *Saepta*. Symbolically it made a public statement of Augustus’ commitment to free and fair elections. For Agrippa, it provided a place to show and share some of the ancient world’s costliest artworks. Some of his projects pushed the technology of the time to its limits. Installing the wide roof of the *Diribitorium* posed such technical challenges it could not be finished until well after Agrippa’s death, but its sheer scale earned it a position in Pliny the Elder’s list of ‘magnificent constructions’ of his day.²⁷ The fantastically decorated Basilica of Neptunus and the gymnasium

beside it presaged the complexity of his integrated public bathing complex to come, which required the construction of a new aqueduct, the *Aqua Virgo*, to supply it with an uninterrupted supply of fresh water. Close by, the great monument, which Agrippa wanted to call the *Augusteum* but which is now better known as the Pantheon, seems to have been a personal tribute by one friend to another. Here the novelty of architectural design and masterpieces of decoration combined in spectacular style. It too attracted admiration from the critical eye of polymath Pliny the Elder. If, as is likely, this building originally bore the now famous inscription that it was made by Agrippa, it was as though he was making the dramatic statement, 'because I can!' But it did not end there. By the time of his death, there was a bridge, a park, an artificial lake and a funerary monument named after him – and those were just the edifices in Rome. In a physical sense, it could be said that Agrippa put the public in *Res Publica*. In large measure, because of Agrippa's passion for building, Caesar Augustus could later claim 'I found a city of brick and leave it one of marble'.²⁸ Around the empire too, he had paid for repairs to a chariot racetrack, embellishments to various theatres, temples, extensions of a city residential quarter and other public amenities in the east and west – all durable benefits of *Romanitas* created in the finest stone to be enjoyed by people even in the far corners of the empire.

All the more astonishing is that Agrippa paid for all these immense constructions and artwork collections at his own expense. He accumulated vast wealth quite early during his career – from war spoils captured during the Sex. Pompeius and Actian Wars, from the profits of cash crops produced on his landholdings in Italy, Egypt, Sicily and the Thracian Chersonese, as well as gifts from Augustus and his inheritance from Atticus, his father-in-law; but it mattered to him how he spent it. He clearly had a vision of how a civilized society should be and he was in a position to realize it.

Firstly, he believed in promoting public wellbeing. He sensed the link between personal cleanliness and public health, and that it made people feel better about themselves. It was a brilliant insight to pay for free access to 170 bathing places and to install new fountains throughout the city. Other politicians had simply handed out cash to the plebs, but daily visits to the baths and the availability of fresh

water any time of day or night from always on, easy to reach fountains were constant reminders of the benefits that Caesar's heir brought to all.

For the policy to work meant dealing with less glamorous projects – repairing the aging *Aqua Marcia*, building new aqueducts and cleaning out the sewers. Agrippa dedicated his term as aedile to addressing Rome's plumbing, a task others in the office had avoided. Agrippa also knew it was not sufficient just to build infrastructure. Victorious commanders returning from war often erected beautiful temples or other monumental structures in fulfilment of their vows to the god who had favoured them, but they then failed to provide for their upkeep. In the first century BCE Rome was filled with decaying buildings.²⁹ Robust facilities management programmes were essential to ensuring they lasted over the long term. Agrippa became 'life curator', as Frontinus calls him, and he established a permanent direct labour organization exclusively responsible for the maintenance and repair of the aqueducts, fountains and baths in Rome.³⁰ A year after Agrippa's death, Augustus recognized its importance when, having inherited the company of slaves from Agrippa, he made it state property (*cura aquarum*) and used it as model for the *curatores* of other essential public works. Indeed, during his lifetime Augustus constantly called upon Agrippa as a helper (*adiutor*) – he truly was his right-hand man.³¹ Agrippa was so effective in this role that within weeks of his death, rather than face working alone, Augustus had picked the man to replace him – Ti. Claudius Nero, the future Emperor Tiberius – while the young Caesars, Caius and Lucius, grew into manhood.

Secondly, he believed that great art placed in the urban landscape was essential to the spiritual health of the community. This stood in stark contrast to, for example, M. Antonius who in the aftermath of Julius Caesar's murder secreted away the *dictator's* fine collection of artworks to locations where only he could enjoy them. The source of Agrippa's public spiritedness is not known, but it was manifestly a cornerstone of his personal philosophy. Pliny belittled Agrippa's taste for rustic simplicity over what he considered refinement in art, but in saying so he overlooked that Augustus' own taste was also for the unfussy.³² However, if the villa under the Farnesina in Rome and the villa at Boscotrecase in Campania are indeed Agrippa's properties, their interior decorations suggest sophistication and restraint appealed

to the owner's taste. The emphasis is on fine composition and quality of execution. These were the same attributes Agrippa brought to his public works. Thus, great paintings he selected himself and imported from Kyzicus were displayed at the *Saepta*, new thematic commissions decorated the ceiling of his baths, some of the best sculptures of Lysippos populated his baths and park, and the statues of the leading contemporary artist Diogenes of Athens decorated his Pantheon – all for the enjoyment of the public.

He was a consummate manager. Karl Galinsky writes, 'Agrippa's abilities were, and are, unquestioned,' and David Stockton that he was 'immensely capable.'³³ The ability to plan, organize and manage resources in achieving specific objectives, which Agrippa ably demonstrated in war – such as building *Portus Iulius*, procuring and equipping ships and training their crews – he brought to civil administration and construction projects. 'In whatever he did he knew no such thing as delay, but with him action went hand in hand with conception,' writes Velleius Paterculus.³⁴ Concerning Agrippa's management style it can be said he used a combination of methods. When faced with mutiny among the legions in Cantabria he used both admonishments and encouragements – the proverbial 'sticks and carrots' – to bring about a change of morale and reinstate discipline. He also engaged in a form of what modern management consultants would call Management by Wandering About (MBWA).³⁵ Surveying his life one is struck by the sheer number of trips he undertook by land and sea ([Appendix 2](#)). He was rarely in one place for long. Through travel he met officials of cities he visited, providing for him the opportunity to question and motivate, while for those he met it put a human face on the administration in far-away Rome and allowed them the opportunity to present their views. This way he built robust networks of contacts, with client kings such as Herodes of Iudaea or Polemon of Bithynia et Pontus, as well as his own organization of legates in the far-flung provinces he was responsible for, such as Iulius Antonius in the East, or C. Furnius in the West. Building trust with these men, who were responsible for maintaining local security, was essential in an age when the outcome of decisions taken in response to a crisis might not be known for days owing to the limitations of the available communications systems. Precisely because he nurtured good personal relations he was able to arrange

for Polemon to go to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, while calling on assistance from Herodes before going himself. Both men responded unquestioningly to the instructions issued by Agrippa because they knew and respected him. He also set examples for others to follow. He believed in hard work (*industria*) and he pushed himself relentlessly. He was always consumed in activity – ‘unconquerable by toil, loss of sleep or danger’, writes Velleius Paterculus.³⁶ He pushed others too. To the building of *Portus Iulius* he brought not only organization and methods, but he also injected urgency into the project. He had high standards of himself and he demanded them of others. For Agrippa, excellence lay in the details. On occasions he could be a micro-manager. He was a regular visitor to construction sites to check on progress. Despite its rank subterranean tunnels, he nevertheless personally inspected the *Cloaca Maxima*, checking the repairs himself from a boat.

He appreciated technical innovation and was himself an innovator. To give his marines a tactical advantage in battle, he installed on all his warships the collapsible version of the standard turret of his own invention, and the *harpax*, an existing weapon upon which he improved. Recognizing a problem of counting laps at the *Circus Maximus* he conceived of the simple but effective ‘dolphin and egg’ signalling system. The *Thermae Agrippae* was the first large-scale integrated bathing and fitness complex in Rome made available for mass public use. It changed the way Romans bathed and was imitated by emperors, from Nero to Diocletian, who competed to build ever larger and more elaborate establishments. His map of the world condensed all contemporary geographical and topographical knowledge in a single document which was displayed on a wall in a building and became a famous landmark for centuries.

Rewards and recognitions are key performance motivators for executives today. Unlike many men of his time, however, Agrippa does not appear to have been motivated by the showy displays normally granted to successful commanders as public recognition. The acclamatory ‘IMP’ is rarely shown after his name, leaving his friend to promote his leadership position and uniquely use it as his *praenomen*. He was accorded triumphal honours – for squashing rebellions in Aquitania in 39 BCE and Cantabria in 19 BCE – yet on both occasions he politely refused them. His response would have seemed decidedly

odd to his contemporaries – even perverse. They craved such public honours and the fame it brought them. Noting this behaviour, Dio writes:

For the more he surpassed others in excellence, the more inferior he kept himself of his own free will to the emperor; and while he devoted all the wisdom and valour he himself possessed to the highest interests of Augustus, he lavished all the honour and influence he received from him upon benefactions to others.³⁷

This trait of personal restraint (*moderatio*) greatly appealed to Augustus. He was himself generally recognized as ‘most temperate and without even the suspicion of any fault’.³⁸ It is significant that the man Augustus chose to be his next ‘fixer in chief’ after his friend’s death was Ti. Claudius Nero, a man known for the same quality. In other ways Tiberius was like Agrippa too: cautious, disciplined, pragmatic and committed to getting his assignment done. Unlike Agrippa, however, he did accept the triumphs awarded to him and the recognition each brought him. Agrippa seems to have been entirely content with his unique blue pennant award for winning Actium, the *corona navalis* for Naulochus and *corona muralis* for Cantabria. He was permitted to display these in public and his profile with one or both of the crowns frequently appeared on coins. He seems to have been entirely unimpressed by the superficial, a view which he also extended to poetic language.

He certainly understood the value of symbols and of ritual. He upheld religious traditions, taking a leading part in the lustration ceremony to bless his new fleet at *Portus Iulius*, willingly accepting membership of the Arval Brothers and *Quindecemviri* for himself, and sponsoring many rite-based games and festivals. The most important of these was the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 BCE in which he played a prominent role on each of the three days. There is nothing in his life story to suggest that he was anything but a traditionalist in religious terms following the *mores maiorum*. He was skeptical of cults, however, expelling astrologers and charlatans when aedile and yet respectful of the ancient Jewish tradition. In seeking respite from the excruciating pain in his legs he made a point to visit the sacred shrines in Attica and Lesbos and made offerings to the gods to supplement the

course of physical treatments he received indicating a level of personal belief in the old religion.

If personal restraint was Agrippa's hallmark, it did not mean he could not respond emotionally. Cornelius Nepos' description of his reaction to his father-in-law Atticus' decision to commit suicide rather than suffer old age in pain has Agrippa 'weeping over him, kissing him and entreating' him not to do it.³⁹ Suetonius also reveals that occasionally he could be impatient. The only time Agrippa is recorded as having a temper tantrum with his friend is over the matter of Augustus' apparent favouring of M. Claudius Marcellus. When he learned that his wife Iulia had not been accorded the respect her status deserved by the people of Illium and that she was almost killed in a flash flood, he lashed out and imposed a punitive fine on the city. His reaction seems to be more than that of a man just exercising the duties of a husband. To the rumours of his wife's infidelities he responded with evident 'distress', perhaps so much so that it negatively impacted his health.⁴⁰ Yet for all the public and private burdens and stresses he bore over so many years, Agrippa is all the more admirable for his display of resilience and depth of character, traits the Romans called *firmitas* – tenacity or strength of mind.

His relationships with women were entirely normal. Compared to many of the men around him his family life never attracted scandal. Agrippa married three times. He only divorced the first two wives at the request of Augustus. By Iulia the Elder he had five children. He would seem to have genuinely loved her and was distressed by rumours of infidelities alleged against her. There is no suggestion that he was unfaithful to any of his wives – unlike his friend, around who stories of illicit liaisons swirled. Of his relationship with Livia Drusilla, the formidable wife of Augustus, there is nothing in the extant accounts. He certainly knew her – probably extremely well – and it can reasonably be assumed that they were on good terms.

The Sure Friend

The intriguing question is why Agrippa was prepared to always be the 'No. 2' in the partnership? Curiously, the historians of the ancient world never addressed this question. Perhaps it was unnecessary because Agrippa dealt with it in his own memoir, and the answer was common knowledge at the time. If so, as it is entirely lost to us, today

we can only speculate on the reasons. First and foremost, it seems clear that Agrippa truly valued his friendship with Augustus. The importance of it to him should not be underestimated. Through his relationship Agrippa found purpose and respect. Theirs exemplified the benefits of a friendship based on virtue – the kind described by Cicero in his treatise on the subject:

And great and numerous as are the blessings of friendship, this certainly is the sovereign one, that it gives us bright hopes for the future and forbids weakness and despair. In the face of a true friend a man sees as it were a second self. So that where his friend is he is; if his friend be rich, he is not poor; though he be weak, his friend's strength is his; and in his friend's life he enjoys a second life after his own is finished.⁴¹

It was a fraternal, even a sentimental, relationship. Valerius Maximus cites Agrippa as an example of a friendship (*amicitia*) that was steadfastly loyal but borne of happiness.⁴² At odds with the other sources, Pliny the Elder remarks that his life was cut short, in part because of 'the grievous tyranny to which he was subjected by his father-in-law'.⁴³ The evidence suggests Agrippa would never have seen the relationship in these negative terms. Everything points to the fact that Agrippa idolized his friend. Why, is a matter of pure speculation. Perhaps it was the fact that the equestrian Octavius had befriended the plebeian Agrippa at a low point in his life or when he was new to the city of Rome, respected him for who he was and, their bond strengthened in adversity, never abandoned him.⁴⁴ Perhaps their personalities simply complemented each other, and their outlook on life was the same. In return for his friendship, Agrippa was ready and willing without hesitation to come to his friend's assistance, regardless of the situation or distance or risk to himself. Thus, for Agrippa it was entirely natural to want to publicly demonstrate his friendship by naming his artificial harbour or an aqueduct after him, or by dedicating a statue of Augustus in his new Pantheon, erected at his own expense.⁴⁵ While flattered by the proposed statue, Augustus refused it, for – wisely – he knew it was far too early to present himself to the Roman public as a divinity, but as Dio observes 'so far from censuring him for it, [he] honoured them the more'.⁴⁶

Agrippa earned a very special place in Augustus' circle of friends.

He had been there from the beginning and he outlasted the others. Seneca describes him as ‘the only person among those whom the civil wars raised to fame and power who prospered in his statecraft’.⁴⁷ Among the senior figures of the late Republic, Cicero was murdered, M. Antonius died at his own hand and Sex. Pompeius was assassinated. Aemilius Lepidus was shunned and died in disgrace. L. Munatius Plancus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus defected from Antonius’ camp to join the Caesarians, but neither could be completely trusted. Among his peer group Agrippa was the ‘last man standing’. His advice proved more valuable to the young heir of Iulius Caesar than that offered by either Q. Iuventius or M. Modialius or Lucius [?] who disappear from the accounts just before the Mutinese War. He proved more loyal than Q. Salvidienus Rufus who had been one of the small group at Apollonia in 44 BCE, failed to defeat Sex. Pompeius at Scylae, and was later brought down by his own poor judgement when he approached M. Antonius offering to defect to him or was implicated in a plot to assassinate Augustus – who, on learning of it, without hesitation, condemned him to death. He simply outperformed M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus and T. Statilius Taurus – both good generals – during the Actian War, and M. Lollius in the Tres Galliae. Agrippa always put the interests of Augustus before his own. C. Cilnius Maecenas – the second most important man after Agrippa, who was crucial to maintaining support at Rome during the Civil War period, and fostered poets whose works sang the praises of Actium and of Augustus’ new age. Tacitus describes a meeting between the Emperor Nero and his advisor, in which Seneca is reported as saying,

Your great-grandfather Augustus granted to Marcus Agrippa the calm repose of Mitylene, to C. Maecenas what was nearly equivalent to a foreign retreat in the capital itself. One of these men shared his wars; the other struggled with many laborious duties at Rome; both received awards which were indeed splendid, but only proportioned to their great merits.⁴⁸

Both were ‘men of extraordinary capabilities’, writes Reinhold.⁴⁹ However, Maecenas may have made a serious miscalculation when he defended his brother-in-law who was implicated in a conspiracy to assassinate the *princeps*. After that his influence apparently waned. Agrippa proved the truth of playwright Ennius’ line, ‘a sure friend is

seen in an unsure matter'.⁵⁰ He married into Augustus' family at his request, not once but twice, and willingly agreed for his own natural sons, Caius and Lucius, to be adopted by him. Augustus accepted him for who he was and what he could do, not for his name or ancestry. As Velleius Paterculus says of Agrippa and Statilius Taurus after him,

In the case of these men their lack of lineage was no obstacle to their elevation to successive consulships, triumphs, and numerous priesthoods. For great tasks require great helpers, and it is important to the state that those who are necessary to her service should be given prominence in rank, and that their usefulness should be fortified by official authority.⁵¹

Augustus favoured Agrippa with power, titles, rewards, an honoured place in his family and, in the final act of love and deep respect for his friend, gave him a niche in his own mausoleum.

Secondly, the two men had a shared world vision. That was of *Res Publica restituta* – restoring the Commonwealth to the Roman people – by breaking the vice grip of a few powerful individuals who had perverted the checks and balances of the system, brought the nation to its knees and caused the terrible waste of so much blood and treasure. The modern historian Ronald Syme called it a 'Roman revolution', which would make Agrippa a Roman revolutionary.⁵² Rome was borne of many revolutions – the ousting of the kings, the struggles of the plebs to assert their rights, the accommodation of the Italian allies, Sulla's reforms, the First Triumvirate. Augustus and Agrippa saw themselves as the responsible caretakers of a reinvigorated republic, moderating the excesses of the old system by purging and scaling down the Senate, reigning in the powers of the tribunes and people's assemblies, but all the while operating within the rule of law and observing ancient traditions and careful not to portray themselves as tyrants. Dio writes of the apparent contradiction,

It was because of this in particular that he never became obnoxious to Augustus himself nor invidious to his fellow-citizens; on the contrary, he helped Augustus to establish the monarchy, as if he were really a devoted adherent of the principle of autocratic rule, and he won over the people by his benefactions, as if he were in the highest degree a friend of

Together they ended a generation-long period of civil war and invested the peace dividend in the Roman People. Their policies continued in much the same vein as the populist agenda set by Clodius Pulcher and Iulius Caesar. By working in concord with each other and with the Senate and Roman People, they were in large measure able to fulfil their self-imposed mission, where Clodius' and Caesar's approach had ended in disaster. As Seneca writes of the proverb which Agrippa said he was indebted to,

'Harmony makes small things grow; lack of harmony makes great things decay.' He held that he himself became the best of brothers and the best of friends by virtue of this saying.⁵⁴

The *Res Publica*, which had been conceived for a small, self-governing nation state in the aftermath of the overthrow of monarchy, could no longer function on the scale of a world empire. Agrippa had not known the Commonwealth idealized and idolized by Cicero. When he was 4-years-old Rome was ruled by three self-appointed powerful men (the First Triumvirate); by his fifteenth birthday civil war had broken out between two of them and by the time he was 20 Caesar was briefly *dictator perpetuo*, a king in all but name. Ensuring Rome had a sound future was as important to Agrippa as it was to Augustus. The question was how best to do it? Whereas Iulius Caesar had believed he was the only man who could coalesce the opposing forces and vested interests, but lost his life in the process, Augustus recognized he could not rule alone as an autocrat – nor would he be allowed to. Rome was not ready for the return of monarchy. His genius was finding a completely trustworthy man who could share the burden and to present the alliance to the world as constitutional. Agrippa was that man – and he knew it. He had proved over and over that he was a great lieutenant – the ultimate *legatus* of Augustus – but he also demonstrated that he did not want himself to be the sole head of state. Syme writes, 'Marcus Agrippa, the loyal friend, the modest adjutant, may amuse or delude the ingenuous. This man had a fierce and concentrated ambition.'⁵⁵ He certainly had ambition – more so than Maecenas, argues Velleius Paterculus, who was as much loved by Augustus and could have risen as high as Agrippa if he had coveted

it.⁵⁶ But Agrippa's ambition was not to gain power for power's sake. Dio comments, in the context of the Battle of Mylae,

but some assert that Agrippa thought it sufficient merely to rout his adversaries, since he was fighting for Caesar and not for himself. For he would often say to his intimate friends that most men in positions of power wish no one to be superior to themselves, but attend personally without the use of agents to most matters – to all, in fact, that afford them an easy victory – and assign the more difficult and extraordinary tasks to others.⁵⁷

Several times he was left in charge in Rome or commanded large armies with which he could have challenged his friend, or like M. Antonius threatened to break the East away from Rome's control. He did not. It seems he was never, ever tempted. The Roman world was big enough for the both of them. His position already gave Agrippa great influence over policy and programmes, and in many aspects Agrippa took the lead. Agrippa seems to have been driven to use his position and power to make the world a better place, to advance Roman civilization – through his aqueducts, theatres, baths, parks and public displays of art – for the benefit of all, not just the privileged few.

Thirdly, Agrippa and Augustus were both outside the mainstream in 44 BCE, but his friend had one great advantage. He had inherited the name and legacy of the great Iulius Caesar. With that alone came tremendous authority; but when his adopted father was deified, the heir suddenly became *divus filius*, 'son of the divine Iulius'. It was hard to for anyone to compete with a living man who could claim a direct connection with a god! Agrippa knew he would not be accepted by the *nobiles* if he ever tried to assume sole power. The aristocrats had long made plain their prejudice against him, and to assert his right would likely have provoked another civil war. Agrippa was the last man who wanted to spill more Roman blood – over a lifetime he had seen more than enough. Agrippa's genius was to understand that he could realize his vision for Rome and achieve more for himself as Augustus' associate than he ever could as the *princeps* himself.

While Agrippa never ruled in his own right his genes were intermingled in the blood of the *Domus Augusta* and it was his

descendants who were destined for prominence. His daughter Vipsania Agrippina married Augustus' step-son Tiberius, and through her Agrippa was grandfather to Drusus the Younger. As son-in-law to Augustus, his other daughter, Agrippina the Elder, married Germanicus, the son of Drusus the Elder (Nero Claudius Drusus), and through her Agrippa was the grandfather both of the future emperor Caligula and Agrippina the Younger, the mother of Emperor Nero – Agrippa's great-grandson. Iulia also bore Agrippa three sons who were adopted by Augustus himself as his heirs, all of whom met tragic ends while still young men. Had they lived, and one of these succeeded him as emperor, the story of the Roman Empire may have taken a very different course.

The character of M. Agrippa displays many of the traits of the overachiever. He was ambitious, driven and motivated to do – and be – the best. He had high aspirations and dreamed big dreams. He had high expectations and held himself to an extremely high standard of performance. He applied an intensity of focus in getting the task at hand done. He was restless, always on the move or working on a project, and showed a marked sense of urgency. What was the source of his deep-seated compulsion to overachieve? It may have been an (unknown) event in his childhood, or competition with his siblings to gain the attention of his mother or father. Perhaps he was driven by the need to be accepted by his peers: the more they rejected him, the more he devoted his efforts to his friend Augustus, who truly appreciated them – and, most importantly, expressed it. For as long as his friend did so, Agrippa would serve him, unreservedly and unswervingly.

Agrippa lived a full and active life. Over fifty-one restless years he had played many parts – family man, commander, admiral, magistrate, priest, architect, diplomat, associate of Augustus, patron, benefactor and even as 'saviour god'. He was a self-starter, strong-willed, highly-motivated, innovative and practically minded, politically astute and socially aware. He was driven by emotional energy, which propelled his relationships and made him competitive, but he lived by ethical principles, was loyal to his friends and did not crave the standard trappings of success. On his deathbed he could be content knowing that he had served both his country and his best friend well. To spread Roman civilization he travelled all over the known world,

fighting wars against her enemies and encouraging her allies and communities to flourish. As the second most powerful man in the empire he worked with many of the most significant people of his – and, indeed, of any – age. His lasting achievement was to help establish the foundations for the *Pax Augusta* which would endure for centuries. It is entirely fitting that the name which adorns the most recognizable and complete of Roman buildings to survive down to our own time is that of M. Agrippa.

Appendix 1

Res Publica

The Commonwealth System of Government of the Late Roman Republic

A commonwealth is a constitution of the entire people.

Res publica res populi.

Cicero, *De Re Publica* 1.39.

The Romans were very proud of their democratic system of government which they called the *Res Publica*, a fact noted by the Greek historian Polybios. It is often translated as ‘republic’, but its literal meaning is closer to ‘commonwealth’, conveying the notion of ‘things belonging to the public’. Much is understood about the constituent parts of the system, but questions about details of its operation and process remain. It is believed that it was a popular counter response to the tyranny of the kings of the eighth through sixth centuries BCE who had abused their royal authority (*regnum*). By the time of Agrippa’s birth the *Res Publica* was already four-and-a-half centuries old. Its institutions were conceived to be transparent and to operate within the explicit bounds of constitutional law (*ius*), discussed and agreed upon by assemblies of the free Roman people. At issue was the balance struck between individual freedom (*libertas*) and power to rule (*imperium*) – who held it, for how long and the manner in which it was exercised. *Imperium* – derived from the Latin *imperare*, ‘to command’ – was a military term. An individual with *imperium* could only exercise absolute authority (*auctoritas*) within the defined scope of his specific responsibility. He could be overruled by a more senior magistrate and his decisions could be vetoed – from the Latin word *veto*, ‘I forbid’. *Imperium* afforded a man immunity while he held office, but he was fully accountable for his actions once his term ended and he could be prosecuted in court if charges were brought

against him, as was spectacularly demonstrated in the prosecution of the former governor of Sicily, C. Verres, by M. Tullius Cicero in 70 BCE.

Active public participation in this ancient direct democracy was its hallmark. The extent to which a citizen could participate in the *Res Publica* was determined by his birth and class. A Roman male was born into a class or order (*ordo*) and for most men it was the class he also died in. The lowest order was the mass of common people, the *plebs*. Though many were poor, however, by the accumulation of wealth through hard work from running a small business, or receiving an inheritance or by the passing of a law, a plebeian could rise up the levels of social class. A man with assessable wealth in property of 400,000 *sestertii* could enter the next level, the *ordo equester*, or ‘order of knights’, the class which had traditionally provided cavalry for Rome’s citizen army. Owning and equipping a horse was expensive and for hundreds of years, its members gained respect from long years of military service supporting the infantry. By 88 BCE the cavalry had been largely outsourced to Rome’s allies and conquered peoples, and instead many *equites* built careers as officers in the legions or auxiliary cohorts. However, with the growth of the empire after the Punic Wars, many others of its membership found success in banking, trade and increasingly through the practice of law. Winning a case for a client in court in the *Forum Romanum* came to carry as much prestige as slaying an enemy on a remote battlefield once did, and money became the new measure of a man’s standing. Nominally above the knights, patricians (*patricii*) formed the upper class of aristocrats. Traditionally patricians held the priesthoods and were responsible for managing the important transactional relationship between gods and men, ensuring the security and prosperity of the *Res Publica*. A few patrician families – the *Aemilii*, *Cornelii*, *Metelli*, being among the most prominent in early Roman history – had accumulated vast fortunes, but by Agrippa’s time, several were impoverished and some plebeians now exceeded them in wealth, while reforms of civil rights had granted them access to the priesthoods, further eroding their élite status.

The Roman system of government divided its male citizen population – women, freedmen, slaves and foreigners could not participate – into two bodies. The division was encapsulated in the four iconic letters SPQR, which stood for *Senatus Populusque Romanus*,

meaning simply 'The Senate and Roman People'. There were nearly a million adult male voters when Agrippa was born and to exercise their rights, they had no choice but to come in person to Rome to meet their fellow citizens, hear political speeches (*contiones*) delivered from the *Rostra* in the *Forum*, and vote on the *Campus Martius*.

The membership of the Senate, referred to deferentially as *Patres Conscripti*, 'Conscript Fathers', comprised of serving and former magistrates whose number had swollen to almost 1,000 when Agrippa was a young man beginning his career. Some were called by the vulgar *Orcivi* (slaves set free by their master's will), were wholly unworthy, and had been admitted after Caesar's death by M. Antonius through favour or bribery. Current magistrates represented a small number of the members, and those who had served as junior magistrates were called *senatores pedarii* because they were not permitted to speak, but shuffled from one side of the Senate House (*Curia*) to the other to show their support of a speaker. About half of the *pedarii* were men like Agrippa himself, so-called *homines novi*, 'new men', who had no blood connection with an old family clan. Originally the advisory council of elders (from *senex*, 'old man') to the king, the Senate of the Republic was an advisory body to the magistrates through the passing of decrees (*senatus consulta*). These advisories did not have legal force, but more often than not they were followed: the *senatus consultum* had its authority based in precedent, not in law. The Senate could not pass laws – only the enfranchised People could do that. On a day-to-day basis, the Senate directed the magistrates, managed the public treasury and administrated the provinces through appointments drawn by lot of members who had served terms in public office. Meetings began at dawn and were held in public. A presiding magistrate opened the session with a speech, proposed a matter for discussion and then permitted members to speak on it in order of their seniority. A vote for a *senatus consultum* could be passed with a show of hands, though it could be immediately vetoed by a tribune. Senators were barred from engaging in commercial activities and were required to seek the permission of the Senate if they wished to leave Italy.

The People were Roman citizens who lived not just in Rome, but in the enfranchised cities of Italy and *coloniae* across the empire. Power was vested in the People through assemblies, which were

protected and regulated by law. The main legislative body was the *Comitia Centuriata* or Centuriate Assembly. It met to vote on the *Campus Martius* in an area cordoned off for balloting called the *saepta* and voters lined up in what the Romans wittily called ‘sheep pens’ (*ovile*). A herald read out the motion and each voter cast a pebble into jars or baskets (*cistae*) marked for or against. The *Comitia* was divided into 193 voting blocs called *centuriae* or centuries divided according to property class and may have related to the military centuries which formed the legions of civilians at arms when called to war. Each *centuria* represented one vote, and as a simple majority determined the outcome of a vote, when the eighty centuries of patricians united with the eighteen centuries of knights they won the majority and could ratify legislation, election results or court verdicts in their favour. In passing statutory law (*lex*) the *Comitia Centuriata* could, for example, declare war on Rome’s enemies. If a *senatus consultum* conflicted with a *lex* which had been passed by an assembly, the law always overrode the advisory, although it could still serve to interpret a law. The *Comitia* elected men to the highest-ranking Roman magistracies (*magistrati*)– the two consuls (*consules*), the sixteen praetors (*praetores*) and the two censors (*censores*).

Consuls were elected for a period of one year and they were the titular heads of Rome during that time, lending their very names to denote the specific year in which they served. They had ultimate *imperium* and could personally command the legions in war, usually no more than two each. Each consul sat in a distinctive folding chair (*sella curulis*) before an assembly of the *Comitia Centuriata* or meeting of the Senate, wore a purple-bordered toga (*toga praetexta*) and was accompanied by an honour guard of twelve men (*lictors*). A lictor carried an axe in a bundle of rods tied tightly together with a crisscrossing strip of leather called the *fasces*. Former or ex-consuls (*proconsuls*) formed a group from which provincial governors were chosen, with assignments made by drawing lots.

Praetors could also command legions in the field, and were traditionally called upon to do so in times of emergency when the consuls were already at war and far from Rome. In peacetime, they oversaw the law courts. Courts dealt with a wide variety of cases, from those involving civil disputes between fellow citizens under the authority of the *praetor urbanus* to those between Romans and non-

Romans (*peregrini*) under the *praetor peregrinus*. Other praetors appointed judges to preside at criminal cases. Praetors were granted six *lictors* each, could sit on a curule chair mounted on a tribunal and wear the *toga praetexta*. A *praetor* received his *imperium* by decree and was only outranked by a consul. At the time of Agrippa's birth there were eight praetors, but Iulius Caesar increased the number to sixteen. Ex-praetors – or *propraetors* – formed a secondary pool of men from which provincial governors were chosen by lot.

Senators and praetors were members of the Senate for life, unless they committed crimes or indiscretions. Censors were responsible for ensuring Senators maintained the dignity of the august body and upheld respect for public morals (*mores maiorum*, the 'ways of the elders'). They would conduct checks on members every five years (a period called a *lustrum*), expelling those guilty of corruption, abuse of capital punishment, bankruptcy or adultery. A *censor* could induct into the Senate a Roman who possessed the requisite financial and property qualifications. Censors also conducted the count of the Roman population (*census*) at the start of each new *lustrum*, following it with a formal purification ceremony (*lustratio*).

The Centuriate Assembly could pass a law – *lex de imperio* – granting consuls and praetors the proper constitutional command authority (*imperium*) to lead the legions to war, and the *Lex de Potestate Censoria* granting censorial powers to censors. The curule magistrates could propose new legislation to the Assembly, which then voted on it without debate. Further, the Centuriate Assembly served as the highest court of appeal in certain judicial cases – those cases involving capital crimes – and they also ratified the results of a census, typically held every five years. However by Agrippa's time the *Comitia Centuriata* was losing influence to the other voting bodies.

The *Comitia Tributa*, or Tribal Assembly, organized citizens on the basis of thirty-five tribes, into which every Roman citizen was assigned. Citizens living inside the *pomerium* of the city of Rome were assigned to one of four tribes (the so-called 'urban tribes' of *sucusana*, *esquilina*, *collina* and *palatina*), while out-of-towners made up the other thirty-one tribes (the 'rural tribes'). The *Comitia Tributa* met for legislative, electoral and judicial purposes, and, as with the Centuriate Assembly, each *comitia* had a single vote and a simple majority in any tribe decided the vote on the matter under consideration. After 287

BCE it became the most important law-making authority because the laws of the Tribal Assembly were binding on the entire state. Presiding over the Tribal Assembly was either a consul or a *praetor*. The assembly's role was to elect junior magistrates: the twenty (forty under Iulius Caesar) quaestors (*quaestores*) and the two curule aediles (*aediles curules*).

Quaestors provided Roman society with a means to supervise and audit financial accounts of the institutions drawing upon the fund of public money (*aerarium*) held at the Temple of Saturn, such as the army. Some quaestors worked in Rome, supervising at the mint, which made the gold, silver and bronze coinage at the Temple of Iuno Moneta, while others oversaw the maintenance of roads inside and outside the city, served in urban communities across Italy or in the provinces on the staffs of proconsuls. For a young man eager to have a career in politics, life started as a *quaestor*. To be eligible for election, a pleb had to be minimum 32-years-old, while a patrician could stand at 30. Having served as *quaestor*, a man earned the right to sit in the Senate and stand for other magistracies in the ladder (*cursus honorum*), which made up a career in public service.

Curule aediles were magistrates responsible for maintaining public buildings, such as the market halls in the *Forum Romanum*, and regulating the public festivals and gladiatorial games. As they funded these projects from their own resources, the aedileship favoured wealthy individuals or those ambitious for advancement who were willing to borrow heavily to pay for them. The aedile also issued edicts (*ius edicendi*) regulating public markets. They sat on a curule chair and wore the *toga praetexta* and were assigned two lictors each. Aediles stood for election in July, taking office on the first day of the new year.

The last of the three popular assemblies was the *Concilium Plebis*, 'Plebeian Council'. It was based on clan and family ties like the *Comitia Tributa* but comprised of plebeians only. It elected plebeian magistrates – the tribunes (*tribuni plebis*) and aediles (*aediles plebis*), the latter whose functions matched those of the curule aediles and acted as the tribunes' assistants. By Agrippa's time there were ten tribunes. As a representative of the plebs, the tribune's body was considered sacrosanct and it was a capital offence to harm or violate it, even to interfere with his business or disregard his veto. He did not

have the authority of a magistrate (*maior potestas*), as he was not technically one, and he could not inflict punishments, but his tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*) derived from the use of the veto. Independent of all other magistrates, the tribune was not subject to a magistrate's veto. His function was that of a public guardian of the interests of the plebs. The *Concilium* could only be convened by the *tribuni plebis*. The tribunes could propose new legislation to the Plebeian Council, which then voted on it without debate. At first the assembly could only pass laws (*plebiscita*) which affected the plebs, but after 287 BCE its laws were binding on all social classes. During Agrippa's youth, the tribunes had become powerful – even tyrannical – figures in their own right, often in opposition to the Senate. Iulius Caesar and Pompeius Magnus each leveraged the tribunes to achieve their ends when the Senate refused to grant their requests.

The competitive nature of Roman society pitted individuals and families against each other for the prestige and privileges that holding public office brought. It could be an ugly process. When in office as curule aedile in 65 BCE jointly with M. Bibulus, Iulius Caesar decorated the *Comitium* and basilicas of the *Forum Romanum* and erected temporary colonnades to stage lavish entertainments of wild beast hunts, gladiatorial combats and theatre plays, all on borrowed money, and claimed the goodwill it generated entirely for himself. When he found himself surrounded by enemies, consul Cicero lamented on 9 November 63 BCE, *O concidionem miseram non modo administrandae verum etiam conservandae rei publicae!* – ‘the preservation of the *Res Publica* no less than governing it – what a thankless task it is!’ (In *L. Catilinam Oratio Secunda Habita ad Populum*, 14) The Romans revered tradition over innovation in politics, but the century before Agrippa's birth had witnessed the corrosive effects of wealth and the gradual corruption of the checks and balances in the republican system of government. Unwilling to chance victory at election time, an ambitious – but impatient – aristocrat might borrow huge sums of cash to buy votes to ensure his success, with the promise to repay his debt to his lenders once in office. Such were consuls designated for 63 BCE P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla who were barred from serving under the terms of the *Lex Acilia Calpurnia* enacted four years before, which permanently banned officials for corruption in elections (*ambitus*). *Ambitus* had become so endemic by

then that the dozen-or-so agents who negotiated the bargain between the secret buyers and the heads of the voting syndicates (offering so many votes for a given sum) were called *interpretes*, while the men holding the cash for inspection were known as *sequestres*. Religion too could be cynically exploited to influence the outcome. The presiding magistrate, who was an *augur*, conducted a preliminary search for omens (*auspiciae*) the night before a meeting of the Centuriate Assembly. There are several recorded examples where the auguries were declared unfavorable as a means to suspend a session that was thought unlikely to produce the vote an individual wanted.

In times of extreme emergency, which meant war on Italian soil, the republic could temporarily suspend the democracy and surrender its powers to a single man called a *dictator*. Under the *Lex de Dictatore Creando*, the *dictator* was required to be someone who had served as consul and his power lasted just six months – long enough to launch a response to the threat to the state, but short enough to prevent it becoming a permanent autocracy. Except for Sulla and Iulius Caesar, there are no recorded instances in which a man held this office for a longer time, and most resigned the dictatorship before their time expired. Iulius Caesar held the position of *dictator* for just eleven days in 49 BCE, and again in the year 48–47, but in 46 was elected as *dictator* for a period of ten years. When appointed, the magistrates continued to perform their duties, but rather than looking to the Senate for direction, they answered to the *dictator*. The exceptions were the *tribuni plebis* whose roles and responsibilities were unchanged. During his term, the *dictator* neither had authority over the treasury – except the funds allocated him by the Senate – nor could he leave Italy, nor could he ride a horse in Rome. Unlike the consuls, a *dictator* was not liable to be called to account for any of his official acts after he had abdicated. Iulius Caesar was unique in being declared *dictator perpetuo* between January and February 44 BCE. The absolute power it brought him raised the odium of conservative faction (*optimates*) in the Senate which resulted in his assassination on the Ides of March 44 BCE – the date which effectively launched the careers of his heir and of his friend, M. Agrippa.

The *dictator* chose a deputy (*magister equitum*) from the pool of former praetors, who would assume his *imperium* whenever he was away from Rome. The name recalls the time when the *magister*

commanded the cavalry while the *dictator* led the infantry in the field. After Caesar's death the dictatorship was abolished forever by a *lex* proposed by his *magister equitum*, and then consul, M. Antonius.

The *Res Publica* thrived when political debate was open. That required its participants to be vigilant to attempts to pervert their *libertas*. Following Sulla's package of reforms fewer *contiones* were heard in the *Forum* and the popular assemblies came together to ratify legislation already passed by the Senate rather than vote on legislation proposed by their own tribunes. Writing towards the end of the 50s BCE, Cicero perceived changes taking place in his own day,

After inheriting the *Res Publica* like a magnificent picture, though now fading with age, our own times not only neglected to restore its original colours but did not even see to it that we should keep at least its form and, so to speak, its basic outline.

Nostra vero aetas eum rem publicum sicut picturam accepisset egregiam sed iam evanescentem vetustate, non modo eam coloribus eisdem, quibus fuerat, renovare neglexit, sed ne id quidem curavit, ut formam saltem eius et extrema tamquam liniamenta servaret.

Cicero, *De Re Publica* 5.2.

Appendix 2

Agrippa's Travels

<i>Year</i>	<i>Location</i>
46 BCE	Rome – Southern Spain
45	Munda* – Carthago Nova – Rome – Apollonia
44	Apollonia – Lupiae – Brundisium – Puteoli – Rome – Calatia, Casilinum, Capua – Rome
43	Rome – Mutina – Rome
42	Rome – Philippi* – Rome
41	Rome – Sutrium – Perusia
40	Fulginiae – Camerinum (east of Perusia) – Rome – Sipontium – Consentia – Brundisium – Rome
39	Rome – Gallia Narbonensis and Aquitania
38	Nemausus – Lugdunum – Oppidum Treverorum* – [Oppidum Ubiorum] – [Crosses the Rhine River] – Lugdunum – Nemausus – Massilia – Rome
37	Rome – Baiae – Tarentum – Baiae – <i>Portus Iulius</i> – Baiae
36	Baiae – <i>Portus Iulius</i> – Hipponium – Strongyle – Hiera – Mylae – Tindara – Naulochus – Rome
35	Rome – Tergestus – by sea to Senia – Arupium – Metulus – Siscia – Rome
34	Rome – Promona – Rome

33	Rome
32	Rome – Brundisium/Tarentum*
31	Brundisium/Tarentum* – Korkyra – Methone – Patras – Actium – Rome
30	Rome – Brundisium
29	Rome
28	Rome
27	Rome – Misenum – Ostia – Rome
26	Rome
25	Rome
24	Rome
23	Rome – Mytilene
22	Mytilene – Athens – Mytilene
21	Mytilene – Sicily – Rome
20	Rome – Nemausus – Lugdunum – Nemausus
19	Nemausus – [Oppidum Ubiorum] – Northern Spain – Emerita* – Gades* – Rome
18	Rome
17	Rome – Korkyra – Nikopolis – Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis – Patras – Gythion – Sparta – Gythion – Nauplion – Athens
16	Athens – Delphinion – Delos – Andros – Chersonesos – Lampsakos – Sestos – Chersonesos
15	Chersonesos – Troas – Kyzikos – Ephesos – Kos – Syria – Antiocheia on the Orontes – Caesarea Maritima – Jerusalem – Lesbos
14	Lesbos – Sinope – Amisos – Ephesos – [via Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Lydia, central and western Asia Minor] – Ephesos – Samos – Mytilene
13	Mytilene – Athens – Rome –

* Surmised – not known with certainty.

Glossary

Adventus – Arrival of the emperor in Rome.

Aedilis – Magistrate in charge of public works, regulating state festivals and enforcing public order.

Aes – ‘Copper’, a coin worth one half *dupondius* (*asses* pl.).

Ala – ‘Wing’, legionary cavalry on wings of battle formation (*alae* pl.).

Amphora – Tall jar in which olive oil, dish sauce, wine and other products were carried and stacked in the holds of ships.

Annona – Personification of the grain supply of Rome.

Apex – Spiked cap worn by a *flamen*.

Aquila – ‘Eagle’, the eagle standard of a legion.

Aquilifer – Standard bearer carrying the *aquila*.

Ara – Altar.

As – ‘Copper’, Roman coin worth half one *dupondius* (*aes*, *asses* pl.).

Auctoritas – ‘Authority’, influence or prestige.

Augur – Soothsayer specializing in interpretation of bird flight.

Augustus – ‘Revered One’, honorific title voted to C. Iulius Caesar (Octavius) and his successor Ti. Caesar.

Aureus – ‘Gold’, highest denomination gold coin worth 25 *denarii* (*aurei* pl.).

Auspex – Soothsayer specializing in interpreting flight of birds.

Auxilia – ‘Helpers’, support troops of allied or non-Roman citizens.

Ballista – Artillery weapon throwing bolts or stones.

Bellator – ‘Warrior’, Roman war-fighter (*bellatores* pl.).

Bipennis – Double-headed ax used by Asturian and Cantabrian warriors.

Campus Martius – ‘Field of Mars’, a large park and recreation ground in northwest Rome where Roman citizens assembled to vote.

Capitolinus – Hill in Rome on which was built the Temple of Iupiter Optimus Maximus (*Capitolium*).

Carru triumphali – Decorated chariot used in a triumph.

Catapulta – Artillery weapon throwing bolts.

Censor – Magistrate in charge of the *census*.

Census – Assessment of taxable assets carried out every five years (*lustum*).

Centuria – ‘Century’, unit of 8 *contubernia* 80 men; 60 centuries formed a *legio*.

Centurio – ‘Centurion’, officer in charge of a *centuria*.

Clementia – ‘Clemency’, the Roman virtue of showing mercy.

Cohors – ‘Cohort’, unit of six centuries or twelve in a First Cohort (*cohortes* pl.).

Cohors Praetoria – ‘Praetorian Cohorts’, Praetorian Guard.

Colonia – ‘Colony’, city founded for retired legionaries.

Commilitio – ‘Fellow soldier’, a form of address to legionaries usually by a senior office (*commilitiones* pl.).

Confarreatio – Traditional form of wedding.

Concilium – Advisory committee of the senior commanding officer formed of his immediate reports.

Consul – One of the two highest magistrates of the *Res Publica*, elected annually.

Contio – ‘Meeting’, an address by a magistrate to the people or the commander to his troops to present a proposal.

Corvus – Moveable fighting platform used on a warship.

Cuneus – ‘Wedge’, attack formation used by Roman army.

Curator viarum – Manager of roads (*curatores* pl.).

Curia – Senate House (originally the *Curia Hostilia*, rebuilt as the *Curia Iulia*).

Cursus honorum – Career ladder leading to entry into the Senate as a senator.

Denarius – Silver coin, worth 4 *sestertii* (*denarii* pl.).

Dictator – The man granted supreme decision making power in the state for a limited time.

Dominatio – ‘Tyranny’.

Dupondius – Bronze coin, worth 2 asses or one half a sesterce (*dupondii* pl.).

Editor – Sponsor of the ludi or munera.

Equites – ‘Knights’, the middle or business class of Roman society.

Evocatus – Reservist (*evocati* pl.).

Exercitus – Army.

Fasces – The tied bundle of rods around an axe carried by lictors as a symbol of the consul’s or praetor’s high office.

Feria – Public holiday and festival day (*feriae* pl.).

Flamen – Priest (*flamines* pl.).

Framea – Germanic spear or javelin (*frameae* pl.).

Frater – ‘Brother’, a form of address used by soldiers (*fratres* pl.).

Forum Romanum – Roman *Forum* in central Rome.

Gladius – Short stabbing and thrusting weapon used by legionaries (*gladii* pl.).

Harpax – Chain with hook or claw fired from a catapult.

Hasta – Javelin used by Roman *auxilia* and cavalry.

Honesta – ‘Honesty’, the Roman virtue of respectability.

Hostis publicus – ‘Public enemy’, enemy of the state.

Humanitas – ‘Humanity’, the Roman virtue associated with being cultured from having a good education.

Ianus – ‘Arch’, triumphal arch.

Imago – Mask of wax made during the lifetime of a Roman citizen; military standard bearing a small statue bust of the *princeps*.

Impedimenta – Baggage train.

Imperator – ‘Commander’, a title shouted by troops to a victorious leader.

Imperium – ‘Power’, originally given to consuls and praetors, including the right to wage war.

Imperium proconsulare – Legal power to govern territories beyond Italy.

Imperium proconsulare maius – ‘Supreme Power’, originally given to consuls and

praetors, including the right to wage war.

Industria – Roman virtue of working hard.

Kalendae – ‘Calends’, first day of the month.

Laudatio – Eulogy.

Legatus – ‘Deputized’, a handpicked representative of Augustus authorized to carry out his instructions.

Legatus Legionis – Commander of a *legio* delegated the *imperium* by Augustus.

Legio – Unit of 10 *cohortes*, approximately 6,000 men (*legiones* pl.).

Libertas – Roman virtue of independence, freedom of speech.

Libertus – A slave freed by legal process.

Liburna – ‘Liburnian’, type of ship, usually with two rows of oarsmen.

Lictor – Bodyguard of a senior magistrate: a consul had 12, a *praetor* 6, a *propraetor* 5 and an *aedile* 2 (*lictors* pl.).

Lituus – Crooked staff used by an *augur* when interpreting bird flight.

Lorica hamata – Body armour made of chain or ring mail.

Lorica squamata – Body armour made of scales attached to a backing of cloth or leather.

Lorica segmentata – Body armour made of articulated metal plates (a non-Roman term coined in the sixteenth century).

Ludi – Roman blood games, held for religious observance and increasingly used to further political ends.

Lustrum – Period of five years.

Medicus – ‘Medic’, doctor.

Miles – Common soldier, *miles gregarius* (*milites* pl.).

Moderatio – ‘Moderation’, Roman virtue of restraint from excess.

Modius – Measure of grain equivalent to a third of an *amphora*.

Mos maiorum – ‘The ways of the elders’, traditional values and forms of worship.

Munera – Roman blood games held for political and entertainment purposes.

Municipium – Chartered provincial Roman city.

Navis longa – ‘Long ship’, name of a bireme or trireme.

Nobiles – The old families forming Rome’s aristocracy having a member who had served as consul.

Novus homo – ‘New man’, a man born of non-Roman aristocracy.

Officium – ‘Service’, the staff – office – responsible for record keeping.

Oppidum – Town or defensible settlement often on a hill.

Optimates – Conservative bloc of the Roman senators seeking to preserve the *status quo*.

Ovatio – Lower form of triumph awarded to a victorious commander who was permitted to ride on a horse through the streets of Rome.

Palatinus – Hill in Rome, location of homes for the Roman élite.

Paterfamilias – Legal master of the household.

Pietas – Roman virtue of respect for the natural order of things.

Pilum – Roman javelin used by legionaries (*pila* pl.).

Pompa – Procession in a religious rite or funeral.

Pompa triumphalis – Full triumph in which the triumphator rode in a chariot

followed by floats displaying the captive and spoils of war.

Pontifex Maximus – ‘Chief bridge builder’ (from *pont*, Etruscan for ‘road’*), chief priest.

Populares – Progressive bloc of Roman senators seeking to change the status quo.

Praefectus – ‘Prefect’, senior officer or magistrate.

Praefectus Castrorum – ‘Camp Prefect’, third in command of a *legio*.

Praefectus Equitum – ‘Prefect of Horse’, senior officer in command of a *turma*.

Praefectus Praetorio – Commander of the *Cohors Praetoria*.

Praepositus – ‘Overseer’, special envoy or governor general.

Praetor – Senior magistrate responsible for administering law, the *ludi* and *feriae*.

Praetor Urbanus – Chief praetor in charge of administration of law in Rome.

Praetorium – ‘Praetor’s building’, house of the senior officer of a *legio*.

Primus Pilus – ‘First javelin’, the most senior *centurio* of a *legio*.

Princeps – ‘The First One’, the title adopted by Augustus to describe his leadership position.

Princeps Praetorii – Officer in charge of the army unit’s officium.

Principalis – Non-commissioned officer of a *centuria*, e.g. *cornicen*, *signifer* (*principales* pl.).

Principia – ‘Front line’, headquarters building in a Roman fort.

Proconsul – ‘Former consul’, governor of a senatorial province.

Propraetor – ‘Former praetor’, governor of an imperial province.

Quaestor – Junior magistrate in charge of law courts and public financial accounting.

Rostra – Tribunal, speaker’s platform in *Forum Romanum*.

Rostrum – Bronze beak or ram of a warship covering the stem bulb/bulbous bow.

Res Publica – ‘Public Things’, the commonwealth of the Roman state.

Sacerdos – Priest (*sacerdotes* pl.).

Saeculum – A period estimated to be the lifetime of a man, approximately 100 years.

Salutatio – Morning visit by clients to the patron.

Scutum – Roman shield (*scuta* pl.).

Semis – Roman coin worth half one *as*.

Senatus Consultum – Decree of the Senate.

Sestertius – Brass coin, equal in value to one-quarter *denarius* (*sestertii* pl.).

Signifer – Standard bearer carrying the centurial *signum*.

Signum – Unit standard (*signa* pl.).

Socius – Ally, associate, partner (*socii* pl.).

Spolia opima – Prized spoils taken from an enemy after armed combat.

Suovetaurilia – Religious rite involving the sacrifice of a pig, sheep and bull.

Toga praetexta – White toga with a broad purple stripe along the curved edge.

Toga pura – ‘Manly gown’, the all-white toga worn by Roman adult men.

Toga virilis – ‘Manly gown’, the all-white toga worn by Roman adult men.

Tresvir – ‘Three Man’, a member of a board comprised of three magistrates responsible for a state function, e.g. *tresviri monetales* who were responsible for managing the coin supply.

Tribunus – Tribune: *tribunus plebis*, a representative of the people elected annually; *tribunus laticlavus*, the second in command of a *legio* was accompanied by five

junior *tribuni angusticlavii*.

Triumphator – The military commander awarded an *ovatio* or *pompa triumphalis*.

Triumvir, Illvir – Member of a commission of three political leaders (*triumviri* pl.).

Tropaeum – ‘Trophy’ made of captured weapons (*tropaea* pl.).

Tumulus – Cenotaph shaped like a raised circular dome (*tumuli* pl.).

Turris – Wooden tower on warship for mounting a *catalpulta*.

Vexillum – Flag standard.

Via Praetoria – Cross road in a Roman camp leading to *principia*.

Via Principalis – Main street of a Roman camp.

Via Sacra – ‘Sacred Way’, the main road running through the *Forum Romanum*.

Virtus – ‘Manliness’, Roman virtue of courage.

* Surmised – not known with certainty.

Place Names

Cities and Towns

Actium	Aktion
Aquilaea	Aquileia
Alexandria	Alexandria
Amisos	Samsun
Andetrium	Muč
Antiocheia	Antakya
Antium	Anzio
Apollonia	Pojani
Ara Ubiorum	(after 1 CE) Cologne, Köln
Aracillum, Racillum	Aradillos or Espina del Gallego*
Arausio	Orange
Arelate	Arles
Ariminium	Rimini
Arretium	Arezzo
Artaxata	Artashat
Assos	Behramkale
Athenae	Athens, Athenai
Augusta Taurinorum	Turin
Augusta Treverorum	Trier
Autricum	Chartres
Axima	Aime
Baiae	Baia
Berenike	Berenikea
Brigantium	Briançon
Brundisium	Brindisi
Burdigala	Bordeaux
Burnum	Roman camp near modern Kistanje, Croatia
Byzantium	Istanbul, Constantinople
Caesarea Maritima	Caesarea

Cameria	Camerino
Carthago Nova	Cartagena
Cenabum	Orléans
Chersonesos	Sevastopol
Cibalae	Vinkovici
<i>Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troadis</i>	Eski Stambul
<i>Colonia Augusta Buthrotum</i>	Butrint
<i>Colonia Caesaraugusta</i>	Zaragoza
<i>Colonia Copia Felix Munatia</i>	Lyon (Fourvière)
<i>Colonia Emerita Augusta</i>	Mérida
<i>Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus</i>	Beirut
<i>Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis</i>	Corinth, Korinthos
<i>Colonia Obsequens Iulia Pisana</i>	Pisa
Cumae	Cuma
Dyrrhacium	Durrës
Emona	Ljubljana
Ephesus	Roman city near Selçuk, Izmir
Epidaurum	Cavtat
Fulginiae, Fulginium	Foligno
Gabii	Roman town near modern Osteria dell'Osa
Gadara	Umm Qais
Glanum	St-Rémy-de-Provence
Hierosylima	Jerusalem
Illium (Illion)	Hisarlik, Troy
Lampasakos	Lapeski
Laodikeia	Loadikya
Legio	León
Lupiae	Lecce
Lugdunum	(after mid-first Century CE) Lyon
Massalia	Marseille
Mediolanum Santonum	Saintes
Messana	Messina
Methone	Methoni
Mutina	Modena
Mytilene	Mytilini
Nemausus	Nîmes
Napata	Karima

Neapolis	Naples, Napoli
Nikopolis	Preveza
Nissus	Niš
Oppidum Ubiorum	(prior to 1 CE) Cologne, Köln
Praeneste	Palestrina
Perusia	Perugia
Pola	Pula
<i>Portus Iulius</i>	Roman port connecting Lake Lucrino to the Gulf of Pozzuoli
Puteoli	Pozzuoli
Ravenna	Ravenna
Rhegium	Reggio di Calabria
Roma	Rome, Roma
Salona	Solin
Samosata	Samsat
Scyllaeum	A promontory of Calabria
Segisama	Sasamón
Segusio	Susa
Sentinum	Sassoferrato
Scupi	Skopje
Sinope	Sinop
Sirmium	Mitrovica
Sipontum	Siponto
Siscia	Sisak
Spoletium	Spoletto
Sutrium	Sutri
Syene	Aswan
Tarentum	Taranto
Tarsus	Tarsus
Tarraco	Tarragona
Tergestum	Trieste, Triest
Tibur	Tivoli
Ticinum	Pavia
Tyndaris	Tindari
Vienna	Vienne on the Rhône
Vorgium	Carhaix
Zela	Zile

Islands

Capreae
Kerkyra, Corcyra
Leucas
Pandateria
Planasia
Rhodos
Siciliae
Strongyle
Trimerus

Mountains

Mons Alma
Mons Medullus
Mons Vindius
Matrona Mons

Promotory

Thracian Chersonese
(Chersonesus Thracica)

Rivers

Albis
Aous
Arar
Araxes
Danuvius
Dravus
Drinus
Garonna
Ister
Mosella
Minius
Nilus
Rhenus
Rhodanus
Savus

Seas

Mare Aegaeum
Mare Internum
Pontus Euxinus
Sinus Ambracius

Capri
Corfu
Levkas
Ventotene
Pianosa
Rhodes
Sicily
Stromboli
Isole Tremiti

Fruska Gora
*Peña Sagra**
*Peña Santa**
Mount Genève

Gallipoli

Elbe
Vjosë
Saône
Aras
Danube, Donau
Drava, Drave
Drina
Garonne
Danube, Donau
Moselle, Mosel
Miño, Minho
Nile
Rhine, Rhein
Rhône
Sava, Save, Száva

Aegean Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Ambracian Gulf

Sinus Arabicus

Red Sea

Sinus Hadriaticus

Adriatic Sea

*Surmised – not known with
certainty.

Ancient Sources

The evidence from which it is possible to piece together the life and exploits of M. Agrippa is scattered across several types of source material. These include written accounts and inscriptions. From coins and sculptures we have a very good idea of how he looked.

1. Authors

Written sources from the ancient world pose particular problems for modern historians. The approach to writing history then was very different from today. In *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (1985), Sir Moses Finley observed that modern scholars tend to treat ancient authors' works with a reverence and lack of criticism that they do not accord material of other ages. It is particularly problematic for anyone studying the late Republic and principate of Augustus.

Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.*, 7.148–149) and Servius (*Ad Georg.* 2.162) indicate that Agrippa wrote a memoir – as did many famous Roman generals, such as Marius and Cornelius Sulla. Sadly it is completely lost. The other great loss is large portions of Livy's history of Rome *From the Foundation of the City*. We know from the so-called *Periochae* – a summary by ancient librarians of what each volume contained – that the last forty or so books covered the events of the late Republic down to 9 BCE (ending with the death of Nero Claudius Drusus), but the full text of them has not survived.

A handful of primary sources – that is to say, written by contemporaries or eyewitnesses – have come down to us, notably by Augustus, Nikolaos of Damascus and the works of imperial 'court poets' Horace and Vergil. Other surviving accounts are Velleius Paterculus' brief history of the Roman Empire and Strabo's sprawling geographical treatise.

All the other extant accounts which mention Agrippa were written decades or even centuries later. The most complete account of his early life and achievements can be pieced together from Appian's

Roman History about Agrippa's life before Actium; and the derivative history of Cassius Dio, who drew on earlier accounts, but the information he preserves gives a near complete chronology of Agrippa's life after Actium.

In studying these accounts for evidence of the life and exploits of our subject, we have to be mindful of the difficulties posed by the literature, and understand the motives of their authors and the times in which they wrote, and compare their claims against what is known from archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic sources. Furthermore, while Agrippa was a battle-hardened war fighter, few of the ancient writers had personal military experience and, as a consequence, lacked the insights a soldier learned from actual combat, which means that their accounts of expeditions, campaigns and battles are often flawed or difficult to interpret.

Appian (Appianos, c. 95–c. 165 CE) – An educated man of equestrian rank, Appian served as an official in the administration of his native Alexandria before moving to Rome around 120 CE to practice law and plead cases. In 147 CE he returned to Egypt to take up the office of *procurator* on the recommendation of M. Cornelius Fronto (tutor of the Emperor M. Aurelius). He wrote *Ῥωμαϊκά*, a history of Rome in Greek in twenty-four books, of which sections only about half survive. Of these, five (books 13–17) have come to be known collectively as the *Civil War* referred to by the Latin *Bellum Civile* and they offer us a robust account of the tumultuous events following the assassination of Iulius Caesar. Using a conflict-based approach to his subject, compared to other ancient world historians Appian offers greater topographical clarity and provides better insight into the strategic decisions made by commanders in combat. His sources may have included the accounts of Asinius Pollio and Messalla Corvinus who fought in the wars as well as Livy and Plutarch. Appian confirms that Agrippa 'became a friend of Octavius, and some time later served as his deputy against Antonius at the Battle of Actium' (*Bell. Civ.* 4.49). He informs us that Agrippa interceded to have a deputy of Brutus removed from the proscription list (4.49). He records Agrippa's actions during the Perusine War, at Sutrium (5.31), Perugia (5.32) and Fulginiae (5.35). He mentions Agrippa's victory in Aquitania (5.92). From Appian come the most detailed accounts of the

War of Sex. Pompeius. He describes Agrippa's preparations, such as equipping the ships with the *corvus* (5.106), the cleansing ceremony at *Portus Iulius* (5.96), and the battles at Mylae (5.105–5.109), Naulochus (5.116–121); the Illyrian War where Agrippa saw action at Metulus (*Illyrike* 19–20) and his involvement during the entire Actian War (4.49; 5.31–33, 35, 50, 57, 58, 92, 96, 101, 102, 105–110, 112, 115–122).

Augustus (C. Octavius Thurinus, after 16 January 27 BCE C. Imperator Caesar Augustus *Divi filius*), 63 BCE–14 CE – Grand-nephew of the Perpetual Dictator and heir to his potent name and vast fortune, Augustus established a form of autocracy within the framework of the traditional *Res Publica*. He wrote his autobiographical *Res Gestae*, *Things Done*, which, upon his death, was distributed and posted across the Roman Empire. In effect, it was his personal attempt to write the first draft of the story and achievements of his own life. In it he acknowledges the contributions of M. Agrippa by name as *consul* (RG 8) in 28 BCE and as co-organizer of the *Ludi Saeculares* (22) in 17 BCE. Interesting is what he omits to say about his colleague and friend. He mentions his victory at Actium (25), and the revolts in Gaul, Illyricum and Cantabria (26, 29–30), but not the role Agrippa played in them; and he boasts that he distributed 400 *sestertii* to each man (15) in 12 BCE, but not that it was in part paid out of proceeds from Agrippa's estate.

Cassius Dio (L. or Cl. Dio Cassius Cocceianus), c. 155 or 163/164–after 229 CE – Dio was a senator and consul who wrote one of the most complete histories of Roman civilization that has come down to us. Written in Greek in eighty volumes, it took Dio twenty-two years to research and assemble his material for *Roman History* (Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία). His sources may have included Appian, Livy and Tacitus. Agrippa appears frequently in Books 48 through 54 of *Roman History*. He notes the year of his death and describes the funeral at which Augustus spoke (54.28). He describes Agrippa the man and praises his virtues at length (54.29.1–3), records his actions during the Perusine War (48.14.1), assignment of the defence of Gaul (48.20.1), his staging the *Ludi Apollinares* and *Ludus Troiae* and adopting airs and graces on account of his privileged connection (48.20.2); his early military engagement with Sex. Pompeius (48.20.2), his successful

capture of Sipontium (48.28.1), his task to build a fleet of ships (48.49.2–4); his victory in Aquitania, crossing over the Rhine River and award of a triumph, which he declined (48.49.3) and his first consulship (48 Index); his building the fleet (48.49.4–5) and equipping ships with the *harpax* (48.51.5, 49.3.4), constructing *Portus Iulius* (48.50.1–3), the award of the golden *corona navalis* (49.14.3), his campaign against the Delmatae (49.38.3); his self-financed repairs to the *Aqua Marcia* (49.42.2), repairing public buildings, streets and sewers (49.43.1), which included inspecting the *Cloaca Maxima* in person (49.43.1), distributing largess to the crowds at the games (49.43.4), expelling astrologers from Rome (49.43.5); his command of the Caesarian forces in the Actian War (50.9.2–3, 50.14.1), the capture of Methone (50.11.3), the capture of Leukas (50.13.5), the defeat of Sosius off the coast of Corcyra (50.14.1–2), his concerns before the Battle of Actium (50.31.2), the naval battle on 2 September 31 BCE (50.32.1–51.1.1), repatriating the legions to Italy (51.3.5), the honours accorded to him, including the blue ensign (51.21.3) and his award of Pompeius Magnus' palatial house (53.27.5); his loyalty to Augustus (53.27.4), his second consulship (53 Index, 53.1.2), the gift of a tent to match Augustus' own (53.1.2); his marriage to Claudia Marcella (53.1.2), appointment as *censor* (52.42.1), sponsorship of the Circensian Games (Dio 53.1.4–5); his programme of building in Rome (53.27.1), including the *Saepta Iulia* (53.23.1–2), the *Diribitorium* (55.8.4), the *Basilica Neptuni* (53.27.1, 56.24) with its spectacular paintings (53.27.1), the *sudatorium Laconicum* (53.27.1) and the source to supply fresh water to it (54.11.7), which added to the time and cost of construction of the project (54.11.7), the Pantheon (53.27.2–3, 66.24.3) whose doors were flanked by statues of Agrippa and Augustus (53.27.3, 54.1.1), the *Sepulchrum* or *Aedes Agrippae* (54.28.5); his presence at Marcellus' wedding (53.27.5), Agrippa's move into Augustus' house (53.27.5), his popularity with the people (53.31.4), the time Augustus gave Agrippa his signet ring (53.30.1–2), his alleged dismissal to the East (53.32.1), his stay in Mytilene (53.32.1), his recall to Sicily and offer of the hand of Iulia in marriage (54.6.5), his attempts to restore order in Rome (49.43.6), his departure to quell an uprising in Gaul (54.11.1–2), his arrival in Hispania to deal with an uprising of the Astures and Cantabri (54.11.3), his squashing of a mutiny by Roman troops and their

conduct in the grim war (54.11.4–5), his rejection of the triumph granted him (54.11.6), completion of *Aqua Virgo* (54.11.7), grant of powers equivalent to Augustus' (54.12.2), plots against Agrippa (54.15.1), his ownership of the Thracian Cheronese (54.29.5), his acclaim as restorer of Kyzikos' freedom (54.23.7), the revolt in the Cimmerian Bosphorus (54.24.4–6), that he sent his after action report directly to Augustus (54.24.7), the grant of empire-wide powers jointly with Augustus (54.28.1), his departure to deal with the revolt of the Pannonii in Illyricum (54.28.2); his return to Italy and last days in Campania (54.28.2), the funeral in Rome (54.28.3–4), the burial of his ashes in Augustus' own mausoleum (54.28.5) and the final disrespect shown by many senators (54.29.6).

Cornelius Nepos, c. 110–c. 25 BCE – The contemporary Roman biographer from Gallia Cisalpina and friend of the poet C. Valerius Catullus recorded Agrippa's emotional reaction when he learned that his father in law, T. Pomponius Atticus, had decided to commit suicide (*Atticus* 21.1–4).

Eutropius, fourth century CE – Eutropius was a government official based in Constantinople who served the Emperor Julian 'The Apostate' (361–363 CE) on his campaign against the Sassanids. He was alive during the reign of Emperor Valens (364–378 CE) to whom he dedicated his *Short Roman History* (*Breviarium Historiae Romanae*). This is a compendium in ten books of Roman history from the foundation of the city to the accession of Valens. In it, he mentions Agrippa's great success in Aquitania (7.5).

Florus (Iulius Florus or L. Anneus Florus or P. Annius Florus), second century CE – The precise identity of Florus continues to be debated (he may have been the poet, rhetorician and friend of the Emperor Hadrian), but the *Summary of Livy's History* (*Epitome de T. Livio Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC Libri Duo*) in two volumes summarizes all the main wars fought by Roman armies up to the time of his writing. In it he mentions the building of *Portus Iulius* (2.18.6) and recounts the Battle of Actium (2.21), and the Pannonian revolt in Illyricum (2.24).

Frontinus (Sex. Iulius Frontinus), c. 40–103 CE – Frontinus was an accomplished patrician who rose through the *cursus publicus*, including

the governorship of Britannia and with it command of the army which squashed the Silures of South Wales. Under Emperor Nerva, in 95 CE he was appointed *curator aquarum*, following in the footsteps of Agrippa. His book *De Aqeductu Urbis Romae* on the aqueducts and water distribution system of Rome contains details about Agrippa's meticulous work when serving as aedile on the *Aqua Iulia* (Aq. 9) as well as the attentiveness and ingenuity of his full time staff (which he remarks was lacking by his own day), the *Aqua Virgo* (10), the standard type of pipes to be used (24), the infrastructure of tanks and towers managing the water distribution system (98), the full text of the *Senatus Consultum* regulating and preserving the public fountains after Agrippa's death (104), and the administration and division of labour of the maintenance crews (116).

Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), 65–27 BCE – Horace is regarded by many as Rome's leading lyric poet from the time of Augustus. His life was almost exactly contemporary with Agrippa's and, like him, he was considered an outsider. Horace served as an officer in the army of the conspirators and was captured at the Battle of Philippi. Befriended by Maecenas, he came to the attention of Augustus. He wrote the ceremonial *Ode for the Century Games* (*Carmen Saeculare*) in 17 BCE at the request of Augustus and Agrippa. In his *Satires* he describes Agrippa as 'cunning fox imitating a noble lion' (*Sermones* 2.3.186). Horace playfully declined in poetry that he was not grand enough to eulogize the general's great military achievements in verse (*Carmen* 1.6). Horace did, however, celebrate Agrippa's victory over the Cantabri (*Epistulae* 1.12.26–27).

Josephus (Yosef Ben Matityahu or T. Flavius Josephus), 37–100 CE – The erstwhile leader of the resistance at Yodfat (Jotapata) during the First Jewish War of 66–73 CE, Josephus was a prolific writer under his Flavian benefactors, to whom he owed his life. In his *Antiquities of the Jews* (*Antiquitates Iudaicae*), published around 75 CE, he mentions the reason Augustus sent Agrippa to the East (*Ant. Iud.* 15.10.2), King Herodes' visit to Mytilene to meet him and the incident with the Gadarenes (15.10.2), Herodes' invitation to visit Iudaea and the ensuing state visit (16.12–16), the king's support of Agrippa's strategy in the Cimmerian Bosphorus (16.20–21), Herodes' success at negotiating the fine on the city of Illium (16.26), Agrippa's and

Herodes' journey through Asia (16.22–26), preserves the investigation by the tribunal and letters Agrippa wrote to his *legati* after his verdict on the unlawful confiscation of Temple Tax dues (16.27–30, 16.60, 16.165, 16.167 and 16.169), Agrippa's return to Rome with Antipatros (*Antiquitates Iudaicae* 16.86).

Livy (T. Livius), 59 BCE–17 CE – Regarded by many as ancient Rome's greatest historian, Livy was known to Augustus and his family. Indeed he encouraged Augustus' grand-nephew, who later became Emperor Claudius, to study history. Book 129 of *Ab Urbe Condita* covered the battles of Mylae and Naulochus during the War with Sex. Pompeius and singled out Agrippa for particular mention; 132 described the Illyrian War; and 133 discussed the Actian War. Book 138 gave an account of his last days and death. Beyond the cryptic summaries in the *Periochae*, the full texts are now entirely lost.

Manlius (M. Manlius or M. Manilius), First Century CE – Roman poet and astronomer about whom little is known, wrote the *Astronomicon* (1.797–798) which alludes to the fact that Agrippa began his military career at a young age.

Nikolaos of Damaskos, c. 65 BCE–4CE* – Greek-speaking Roman historian and philosopher, Nikolaos was tutor to Kleopatra and became an advisor of King Herodes. He visited Rome in 12 and 8 and after Herodes died in 4 BCE. Of the many books he wrote parts of the *Life of Caesar* – that is of Caesar Augustus – (*Βίος Καίσαρος*) survives. It is one of the most important extant sources for the early years of Agrippa, mentioning that he met the future Augustus while young (*BK* 7.6), that friends of Augustus – possibly Agrippa among them – were late arriving for Iulius Caesar's war in Hispania (10–11), that his brother Lucius fought on the side of Cato and the conspirators in the Libyan War (7) and confirms that Agrippa was among the group of friends touring Campania to recruit men to the cause of Caesar's heir (30). In his own *Autobiography*, which survives as fragments, he mentions Agrippa's ire at hearing Iulia almost came to grief at Illium and the trip he took across Asia with Herodes is recorded (F134).

Orosius (Paulus* Orosius), c. 375–after 418 CE – Historian of the Christian Church, priest and student of St. Augustine of Hippo, Orosius wrote the *History Against the Pagans* (*Historiarum Adversum Paganos*), a

book written to prove the decadence of ancient Roman civilization. In it he mentions Agrippa's engagement during the wars of Sex. Pompeius (6.18.25–29), his guerilla actions in the Actian War (6.19.6–7), one of the most detailed accounts of the Battle of Actium (6.19.8–10) and his war against the Bosporani (21.28).

Pliny the Elder (C. Plinius Secundus), 23–79 CE – The polymath Pliny the Elder began his career as an active soldier in the Rhine army, seeing three tours of duty (45–51 CE), including one as a *praefectus equitum* – as a result of which he wrote a single-volume book on throwing the javelin while riding on horseback, which has been lost. Sadly, Pliny's *Bella Germaniae*, a history of Rome's *German Wars* in twenty volumes, has also not survived, and probably with it an account of Agrippa's crossing of the Rhine River. Pliny is best known for his encyclopaedic *Natural History* (*Naturalis Historia*), which, among its many topics, describes the people and territories of the known world in the first century CE. Pliny discusses Agrippa's strange birth, unhappy childhood and age at death (*Nat. Hist.* 7.8), the name of his brother and sister (6.139), a reference to his eye-witness account of Augustus' sickness before the Battle at Philippi which intimates that he was also there (7.148), his taste for rustic simplicity and the speech he gave on the public ownership of art (35.26), his achievements and legacy, including the *Portus Iulius* (36.125), the award of the *corona navalis* (16.7–8), repairs to the aqueducts (36.121), the opening of hundreds of public bathhouses with free admission and improvements to the *Circus Maximus* (36.24), the decorative artworks displayed in the *Saepta Iulia* (16.201, 36.29), the spectacular *Diribitorium* (36.102), the decorations of the *Thermae Agrippae* (34.62, 36.189) and the Pantheon (36.38), his alleged banishment to the East (7.149), a critique of his *Orbis Terrarum* (3.16–17), the fact he wrote a memoir (7.148), his gout and attempts to cure himself of it (23.58) and his tortured response to rumours of Iulia's infidelities (7.6).

Plutarch (Loukas Mestrios Plutarchos, L. Mestrius Plutarchus), c. 46– 120 CE – The Greek speaking biographer, essayist and historian wrote a number of works, most famously *Oi Βίοι Παράλληλοι* (*Parallel Lives*), which compared the lives of famous Greek and Roman soldiers and statesmen. Plutarch did not write a book about Agrippa

per se, but he mentions him in stories concerning M. Antonius, Brutus, Cassius, Cicero, Pompeius Magnus and Sex. Pompeius. He reports that Agrippa was put in charge of leading the high-profile prosecution against the ring leader, C. Cassius Longinus (Plutarch, *Brutus* 27), his letters urging Caesar to return to Rome (*Antonius* 73.3) and his marriage to Claudia Marcella (*Antonios* 87.2).

Seneca the Younger (L. Annaeus Seneca), c. 4 BCE–65 CE – The playwright, Stoic philosopher, statesman, tutor and later advisor to the Emperor Nero recorded the amusing story of a defence lawyer making fun of Agrippa's missing middle name (*Controversiae* 2.4.12–13), describes him in almost spiritual terms as a 'great-souled man' and also relates that Agrippa's favourite saying was 'Harmony makes small things grow; lack of harmony makes great things decay' (*Epistulae* 94.46, based on Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 10.6).

Servius (Maurus Servius Honoratus), late fourth century CE – Considered in his time as the most learned man in Italy, Servius was a grammarian and scholar who wrote commentaries on the poetic works of Vergil. In the sixteenth century Pierre Daniel published the work with additional material drawn from other antiquarian sources – now lost – as *In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*. This commentary on the Aeneid contains a passage that Agrippa was appointed tribune (*Ad. Aen.* 8.682) and invented the collapsible tower for naval vessels prior to the Battle of Mylae. In his other work (*Ad Georg.* 2.162) he mentions that Agrippa wrote a memoir.

Strabo (Strabonos), 63/64 BCE–c. 24 CE – The historian, geographer and philosopher Strabo is best known for his Γεωγραφικά (*Geography*), a seventeen-volume descriptive survey of the world known to the Romans. Begun some time around 20 BCE, Strabo gives us valuable snippets about the relocation of the Ubii nation across the Rhine (*Geog.* 4.3.4), Agrippa's road network radiating from Lugdunum (4.6.11), the *Orbis Terrarum* (2.5.17) and his purchase of artworks in Asia, including the Fallen Lion of Lysippos, to decorate his public buildings. (13.1.18–19).

Suetonius (C. Suetonius Tranquillus), c. 69/75–after 130 CE – Suetonius wrote the *De Vita Caesarum* (*Lives of the Caesars*), in which he collected biographical facts, rumours and tidbits about Iulius

Caesar and the eleven men who followed him. He records the visit of Agrippa and Augustus to the astrologer in Apollonia (*Divus Augustus* 94.11), his great-grandson's contempt for his humble birth (*Caligula* 23.1), his naming of *Portus Iulius* in honour of Caesar (*Divus Augustus* 16.1), his marriage to Claudia Marcella (*Divus Augustus* 63.1), the *aedes Agrippae* (*Divus Augustus* 97.1), the tantrum Agrippa allegedly threw over Marcellus (*Divus Augustus* 66.3), the birth of Iulia the Younger (*Divus Augustus* 64), that Agrippina the Elder was his daughter (*Caligula* 7) and Caligula's strongly negative reaction to being called a relative of Agrippa (*Caligula* 23).

Tacitus (P. or C. Cornelius Tacitus), 56–117 CE – Tacitus was a senator who wrote several books during the reign of the Emperor Trajan. He followed in the tradition of the historians of the Republic – notably, Sallust (C. Sallustius Crispus, 86–35 BCE) and Livy – but presented his material in such a way as to stress how different life had become in Imperial times. He describes Agrippa as ‘of humble birth, a good soldier and his partner in victory’ (*Annales* 1.3) and ‘associate in power’ (3.56.3). He records that when Agrippa requested time to rest and recuperate, Augustus granted it (14.53.3, 55.2–3).

Valerius Maximus, c. 20 BCE–50 CE – Little is known about Valerius Maximus' personal life. During the reign of Emperor Tiberius he wrote *Memorable Deeds and Sayings in Nine Books* (*Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri IX*), which is a collection of about a thousand stories chosen for the moral guidance they offered, each arranged under one of several themes. In the chapter on friendship he gave the example of Agrippa in relation to Augustus (4.7.7).

Velleius Paterculus (C. or M. Velleius Paterculus), c. 19 BCE–c. 31 CE – Paterculus saw eight years of active service under Tiberius, serving first in Illyricum as a *praefectus equitum* during the Batonian War of 6–9 CE, and then in Germania as a *legatus legionis*. He provides a character profile of Agrippa and praises his virtues, especially his work ethic (2.79.1–2), confirms that Agrippa secured a conviction in the prosecution against C. Cassius Longinus (2.69.5), was successful in operating guerilla-style tactics in the run-up to the Battle of Actium (2.84.2), his command at the great battle (2.85.2), the battle itself (2.85.3–4) and compares Agrippa with Maecenas (2.88.2), his departure to Mytilene on account of alleged animosity towards

Marcellus (2.93.2), his joining the *Fratres Arvales* (2.127.1), the popular view that Agrippa would succeed Augustus and his reason for going to the East (2.93.2), his victory over the Cantabri (2.90.1) and the revolt of the Pannonii in Illyricum (2.96.2–3).

Vergil (P. Vergilius Maro), 70–19 BCE – The Augustan era poet is best known for his poem *Aeneid*, a national epic which has been interpreted as drawing strong associations between Rome's legendary founder Aeneas and its saviour and renewer Augustus. He lauded the *Portus Iulius* (*Georgics* 2.161–164), celebrated his *corona navalis* (*Aeneid* 8.683–684), drew the allegory of Agrippa as Achates (*Aeneid* 1.174–176, 1.188–192) and sang of his contribution at Actium (*Aeneid* 8.675–684).

2. Coins

Coins were produced with Agrippa's name and portrait during his lifetime, both at the official mint in Rome and at provincial city mints across the empire. They tell the story of his career and growing influence across the Roman world. The earliest coins were produced outside Italy in the western provinces of Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugdunenis (Gallia Comata), Hispania Tarraconensis (Hispania Citerior) and Baetica (Hispania Ulterior), and in the East in Achaea and Bithynia et Pontus. After his death several coins were issued to commemorate his life by Augustus and his successors. For a full discussion of the numismatic evidence see Roddaz (1984) and Romeo (1998).

(a) Imperial Mints (before 27 BCE) During the civil war period following the assassination of Iulius Caesar the triumvirs (Antonius, Caesar and Lepidus) produced silver coins (*denarii*) at military mints to pay their troops and to purchase supplies, which moved with the army. The coins declare Agrippa's election as consul and his support of the divine Caesar's heir.

- Gold *aureus* struck 39 BCE in Lugdunum*. Obverse: IMP DIVI IVLI F TER IIIVIR RPC, head of Caesar (Octavius) facing right wearing diadem with star in front. Reverse: M AGRIPPA COS DESIG on plain field. (Numismatic references: Crawford 534/1, Sydenham 1329, Cohen 33.)
- Silver *denarius* (plate 14) struck 39 BCE in Lugdunum*. Obverse:

DIVVS IVLIVS DIVI F, wreathed head of Iulius Caesar right facing bare head of Caesar (Octavius) left. Reverse: M AGRIPPA COS DESIG on plain field. (Numismatic references: Crawford 534/2, Sydenham 1330 (R7), Cohen 5 (80 Fr.), Sear *Imperators* 306.)

- Silver *denarius* struck 39 BCE in Lugdunum*. Obverse: IMP CAES DIVI F, head bearded Caesar (Octavius) facing right. Reverse: M AGRIPPA COS DESIG on plain field. (Numismatic references: Crawford 534/3, I307, Sydenham 1331, I545.)

(b) Imperial Mints (after 27 BCE) After the First Constitutional Settlement Augustus continued the republican policy of contracting out the production of coins to moneyers (*tresviri monetales*). With the foundation of the imperial mint at Lugdunum in 15 BCE most gold (*aureii*) and silver coins were made there and only lower denomination copper or bronze (*asses*, *semis*, *dupondii*, *sestertii*) and brass (*sestertii*) pieces were minted at Rome in the Temple of Iuno Moneta.

(i) Augustus

- Gold *aureus* struck 13 BCE in Rome. Obverse: CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right wearing *corona civica*. Reverse: M AGRIPPA PLATORINVS IIIVIR, head of Agrippa facing right wearing combined *corona navalis* and *muralis*. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 110.)
- Silver *denarius* struck 13 BCE in Rome. Obverse: AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right with *lituus*. Reverse: C MARIVS C F TRO IIIVIR, togate figures of Augustus (laureate) and Agrippa (wearing combined *corona navalis* and *muralis*) standing either side of a *capsa*. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 103.)
- Silver *denarius* struck 13 BCE in Rome. Obverse: CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: M AGRIPPA PLATORINVS IIIVIR, head of Agrippa facing right. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 112–114, Cohen 3, *RIC* I 408.)
- Silver *denarius* ([plate 28](#)) struck 13 BCE in Rome. Obverse: CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: C SVLPICIVS PLATORIN, bare headed and togate figures of Augustus and Agrippa, extending right hands, seated on a bench upon *Rostra* with ships' beaks. (Numismatic references: *BMCRE* I

115, Cohen 529, *RIC* I 407 (R2), *RSC* 529.)

- Silver *denarius* struck 12 BCE in Rome. Obverse: AVGVSTVS COS XI, head of Augustus facing right wearing *corona civica*. Reverse: M AGRIPPA COS TER COSSVS LENTVLVS, head of Agrippa facing right wearing combined *corona navalis* and *muralis*. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 121, *RIC* I 414.)
- Silver *denarius* struck 12 BCE in Rome. Obverse: AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: COSSVS CN F LENTVLVS, equestrian statue of Agrippa facing right on a pedestal, right wearing crested helmet and holding a military trophy. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 122.)
- Silver *denarius* struck 12 BCE in Rome. Obverse: AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: L LENTVLVS FLAMEN MARTIALIS, togate figure of Augustus wearing diadem standing beside a round shield inscribed C V held in the left hand, holding a star with the right hand above semi-naked figure of Agrippa holding small Victory in palm of the right hand and mace in the left. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 124.)
- Silver *denarius* struck 12 BCE in Rome. Obverse: AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: AVGVSTVS TRIB POT L CANINIVS GALLVS IIIVIR, *subsellium* with *hasta*. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 131.)

(ii) Augustus or Tiberius or Caligula

- Bronze *as*, struck 14–37 or 37–41 CE in Rome. Obverse: M AGRIPPA L F COS III, head of Agrippa wearing *corona navalis* facing left. Reverse: S C flanking standing semi-naked god Neptunus draped in cloak, holding trident in left hand, dolphin in right hand. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 122, Cohen 17; Komnick K50.0; *RIC* I 817.)

(iii) Titus

- Bronze *as*, restitution issue struck between 79–81 CE in Rome. Obverse: M AGRIPPA L F COS III, head of Agrippa wearing *corona navalis* facing left. Reverse: IMP T VESP AVG REST D S C flanking standing semi-naked god Neptunus draped in cloak, holding trident in left hand, dolphin in right hand. (Numismatic references: Cohen Agrippa 6; Komnick II K52.0; *RCV* 2589; *RIC* II 209; *BMCRE* II 470 [Titus].)

(iv) Domitian

- Bronze *as*, restitution issue struck in 82 CE in Rome. Obverse: M AGRIPPA L F COS III, head of Agrippa facing left wearing *corona navalis* facing left. Reverse: IMP D AVG REST D S C flanking standing semi-naked god Neptunus draped in cloak, holding trident in left hand, dolphin in right hand. (Numismatic references: *BMCRE* II 510 [Domitian]; Cohen 7; *RIC* 4570.)

(v) Trajan

- Silver *denarius*, restitution issue struck 98–117 CE in Rome. Obverse: AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: IMP CAES TRAIAN AVG GER DAC P P REST | COSSVS CN F LENTVLVS, equestrian statue of Agrippa facing right on a pedestal, right wearing crested helmet and holding a military trophy. Restitution issue. (Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* III 694 [Trajan], Cohen 17; Komnick 50.0; *RIC* II 817.)

(c) Provincial Mints

Gallia Narbonensis

- Bronze *dupondius* ([plate 31](#)), struck between 31–27 BCE in Arausio. Obverse: IMP DIVI F, head of Caesar (Octavianus) facing right back to back with head of Agrippa facing left. Reverse: prow of warship, disk with ram's head above. (Numismatic references: *RPC* 533.)
- Bronze *dupondius*, struck between 28/27–9/8 BCE in Nemausus. Obverse: IMP DIVI F, head of Augustus facing right back to back with bearded head of Agrippa facing left wearing *corona navalis*. Reverse: COL NEM, crocodile facing right laid over palm with crown in upper left quadrant. (Numismatic references: *RPC* 523.)
- Bronze *dupondius*, struck between 9/8–3 BCE in Nemausus. Obverse: IMP DIVI F, head of Augustus facing right back to back with bearded head of Agrippa facing left wearing *corona navalis*. Reverse: COL NEM, crocodile facing right laid over palm with crown in upper left quadrant. (Numismatic references: *RPC* 524.)
- Bronze *dupondius*, struck between 9/8 BCE–14 CE in Nemausus. Obverse: IMP DIVI F P P, laureate head of Augustus facing right back to back with laureate head of Agrippa facing left wearing

corona navalis. Reverse: COL NEM, crocodile facing right laid over palm with crown in upper left quadrant. (Numismatic references: *RPC* 525–526, *RIC* 159–160.)

Hispania Ulterior (Hispania Baetica)

- Brass *sestertius*, struck in Gades, date uncertain (but after 27 BCE). Obverse: MVNICIPI PARENS, male figure seated on a *sella curulis*. Reverse: M AGRIPPA COS III, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 77.)
- Brass *sestertius*, struck in Gades, date uncertain (but after 27 BCE). Obverse: head of Hercules wearing lion head with club. Reverse: M AGRIPPA COS III MVNICIPI PARENS, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 78.)
- Brass *sestertius*, struck in Gades, date uncertain. Obverse: AGRIPPA, head of Agrippa facing left. Reverse: MVNICIPI PARENS, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 80.)
- Brass *sestertius*, minted in Gades, date uncertain. Obverse: AGRIPPA, head of Agrippa facing right. Reverse: MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 83.)
- Bronze *dupondius*, struck in Gades, date uncertain. Obverse: head of Hercules wearing lion head with club. Reverse: MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 73.)
- Bronze *dupondius*, struck in Gades, date uncertain. Obverse: head of Agrippa facing left wearing *corona navalis*. Reverse: MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 81.)
- Bronze *dupondius*, struck in Gades, date uncertain. Obverse: head of Hercules wearing lion head with club. Reverse: MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 82.)
- Bronze *dupondius*, struck in Gades, date uncertain. Obverse: head of Agrippa facing right wearing *corona navalis*. Reverse: MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS, *acrostolium*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 84.)
- Bronze *dupondius* (?), struck 18/17 BCE in Carthago Nova. Obverse: HIBERO PRAEF M AGRIP QVIN, head of Agrippa

facing right. Reverse: L BENNIO PRAEF, military trophy. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 164).

- Bronze *dupondius*, struck in Tingi, date uncertain. Obverse: MBAALT, head of Baal facing forward. Reverse: M AGRIPPA IVL TIN, head of Agrippa facing left. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 864).

Hispania Citerior (Hispania Tarraconensis)

- Bronze *dupondius**, struck 38/39 BCE in Caesaraugusta. Obverse: M AGRIPPA L F COS III, head of Agrippa facing left wearing *corona navalis*. Reverse: CCA TITVLLO ET MONTANO IIVIR, man driving plow drawn by two bulls. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 386.)
- Bronze *dupondius** ([plate 33](#)), struck 38/39 BCE in Caesaraugusta. Obverse: M AGRIPPA L F COS III, head of Agrippa facing left wearing *corona navalis*. Reverse: CCA SCIPIONE ET MONTANO IIVIR, man driving plow drawn by two bulls. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 381.)

Siciliae

- Bronze *dupondius**, struck before 21 BCE in Agrigentum. Obverse: AKPAΓANTINΩN, head of a man facing right. Reverse: AKPAΓANTINΩN, head of a man facing right. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 658.)

Achaea

- Bronze *dupondius**, struck shortly after 27 BCE in Nikopolis. Obverse: ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, head of Agrippa facing left. Reverse: ΙΕΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ, *acrostolium* between *corona*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 1366.)
- Bronze *dupondius**, struck shortly after 27 BCE in Nikopolis. Obverse: ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, head of Agrippa facing left. Reverse: ΙΕΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ, dolphin and trident. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 1367.)
- Bronze *dupondius**, struck 16 BCE* in Sparta. Obverse: ΑΓΡ, head of Agrippa facing right. Reverse: Α Α ΕΥΠΙΚΛΕ, *caduceus*. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 1106.)
- Silver *denarius*, minted in Zecca north Peloponnese in 16–21 BCE*. Obverse: head of Augustus facing right. Obverse: *corona navalis* with ribbon surrounding two ships' rams, back to back.

(Numismatic reference: *BMCRE* I 669, *RIC* I 473).

Creta et Cyrenarum

- Bronze *dupondius*, produced at provincial mint, 18–12 BCE. Obverse: CAESAR TRIB POT AGRIPPA, head of Augustus facing right opposite Agrippa facing left. Reverse: SCATO PROCOS surrounded by laurel crown. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 942.)
- Bronze *dupondius**, minted at Knossos, date uncertain, 14 BCE*. Obverse: C INC EX DD, head of a man facing right, labyrinth behind. Reverse: M AIMILI T FVFIVS IIVIR R I, head of a man. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 976.)

Bosporus

- Gold *stater*, uncertain mint, 14 BCE. Obverse: head of Augustus facing left. Reverse: BAE A, head of Agrippa facing right. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 1865).
- Gold *stater*, uncertain mint, 8 BCE–13 CE. Obverse: head of Augustus facing left. Reverse: monogramme and letters, head of a man facing right. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 1865.)
- Bronze *dupondius**, minted at Agrippia-Phanagoria, date uncertain. Obverse: head of a woman facing right covered with scarf or veil. Reverse: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΩΝ, prow of warship. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 935.)

Asia

- Bronze *dupondius*, uncertain mint, 23 BCE*. Obverse: AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: CA [for *Communitas Asiae*?] within *corona*. (Numismatic references: *BMC* 713, *CBN* 956 (Pergamum), *RIC* 501 (Pergamum), *RPC* 2233.)
- Bronze *dupondius* *, minted at Alabanda after 14 CE. Obverse: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ, laureate head of Augustus facing Livia. Reverse: ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ, star above two small laureate heads offset in profile facing right, at laureate head of man facing left. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 2816).
- Bronze *dupondius**, minted at Parium after 27 BCE. Obverse: IMP CAES DIVI F CGIP, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: M AGRIPPA, head of Agrippa facing right. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 2260.)
- Bronze *dupondius**, minted at Ephesus, reading and date of issue uncertain. Obverse: head of Iulia and Agrippa. Reverse:

Pontus et Bithynia

- Bronze *dupondius**, minted in Apameia in 27 BCE. Obverse: IMP CAESAR DIVI F AVGVSTVS COS VII, head of Augustus facing right. Reverse: AGRIPPA COS III IMP C DI F SCCR C CASSIVS CF IIVIR CICF, head of Agrippa facing right. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 2008.)
- Bronze *dupondius**, minted in Apameia in 12 BCE–4 CE. Obverse: AGRIPPA TR POT CIC, head of Agrippa facing right. Reverse: AGRIPPA AVG NEPOS, head of Agrippa facing right. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 2011.)
- Bronze *dupondius**, minted in Amisos in 9–10 CE. Obverse: AMIΣHN ETOYΣ AM, head of laureate man facing right. Reverse: head of a man facing right. (Numismatic reference: *RPC* 2149.)

* Surmised – not known with certainty.

3. Inscriptions

M. Agrippa's life and career are attested by carved inscriptions from around the Roman world, including many of the places he visited in person. He is invariably shown as 'M. Agrippa' or 'M. Agrippa L. F.' or the Greek equivalent, e.g. *CIL* VI.1.1375 (Rome).

Marking his first consulship with L. Caninius Gallus in 37 BCE there are the *Fasti CIL* 1², 28, 1², 65, 1², 158–159 (Rome), IV.2437 (Pompeii), V.2813 (Patavium), XI.2105 (Clusium), XIV.82 (Ostia); also *Ephemeris* VIII, 592 (Casinum, Latium), and *CIL* VI.4.31270 (Rome) = Dessau 1.128. Citing his second consulship in 33 BCE are *CIL* 1², 160–161 (Rome) and IX.422 (Venusia) = Dessau 2.1.6123. Numerous inscriptions cite his third consulship of 27 BCE, many found on public buildings in Rome (*Fasti Consulares*, [plate 26](#), *CIL* I)², and across the empire: *CIL* 1², 160–161 (Rome), XIV.2240 (Mons Albanus), Orelli II, 4899b (Rome), *CIL* IX.4779 (Forum Novum) and X.2.7559 (Sardinia). Two fragments of the *Fasti Praenestini CIL* I 1 (Rome) (a) 231, (b) 236 indicates he stepped down on 24 April = Dessau 2.2.8844 interprets that he stepped down on 23 April.

His term as aedile is shown on *CIL* IV.4.31270 dated to 33 BCE. Confirming grants of *tribunicia potestas* are *CIL* III.494, VI.32323.53,

IX.3150, IX.3913, XIV.2230 (Mons Albanus), Dessau 3.2.8897 (Ephesus) and *IG* 12.5.740; and his prefecture *CIL* IX, 3913 (Alba Fucens) and IX.4677 (Reate) = Dessau 2.1.6543. Confirming him as *censor* is the *Res Gestae*, *Monumentum Ancyranum* 8 (II²) and *CIL* IX.422 (Venusia) dated to 22 BCE. He is referred to as *imperator* on several inscriptions including *CIL* IX.2200 (Telesia), IX.262 (Gnathia) and IX.422 (Venusia) = Dessau 2.1.6123. His role in the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 BCE is commemorated on the *Monumentum Ancyranum* 4.37 and *CIL* VI.1.877 = Dessau 2.1.5050.

Of his children *CIL* V.6359 and VI.9901 attest to the birth of Vipsania Agrippina; *PIR*² C 1102 to Vipsania Marcella; and the inscriptions documented in A. Plassart, *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 50 (1926), pp. 447–448, nos. 88–89 mention Vipsania Agrippina. Agrippa is acknowledged as the father of Agrippina (the Elder) on her gravestone (*CIL* VI.1.886 (Rome)).

Many buildings were erected by, or in honour of, Agrippa. The existence of the *Pons Agrippae* in Rome is confirmed by *CIL* VI.39087, VI.29781 = *ILS* 6003 (found in the Tiber near the Ponte Garibaldi) and *CIL* VI.31545 (Ostia). The *Thermae Agrippae* are confirmed on *CIL* IV.4.36620 (Rome). The famous bronze letters forming the famous inscription M · AGRIPPA · L · F · COS · TERTIVM · FECIT ([plate 17](#), *CIL* VI.896 = Dessau 1.129) on the Pantheon confirm Agrippa as the original builder. (The letters are modern copies.) The *Sepulchrum* – or *Aedes Agrippae* – is suggested by letters on the so-called Map of Rome in fragments 72 and 103. A monument of M. Agrippa is mentioned in *CIL* VI.1.1375 = Dessau 1.917a. The *Horreae Agrippae* are mentioned in *CIL* VI.2.10026 (Rome) and a *vestiarius* who worked there is recorded in *CIL* VI.2.9972 (Rome). A plinth of a column of pavonazetto from Agrippa's own quarries located in Phrygia is documented as *CIL* XV.988 (now lost). The *Agrippision* was a synagogue apparently named after him in Rome according to one of three Greek inscriptions found at the Jewish cemetery in the city (*CIG* VI.9907 cf. IV.9906).

In Italy, Agrippa was acknowledged as patron in Cubulteria (*CIL* X.1.4616), Gnathia (*CIL* IX.262), Puteoli (*CIL* X.1.1682 = Dessau 1.933) and Rufrae (*CIL* X.1.4831). Inscriptions suggest Agrippa's generosity for an unknown new building erected at Brixia (*CIL* V.4315) and a new basilica at Septempeda (*CIL* IX.5576). At Pompeii,

graffiti scratched on a painted wall (*CIL* IV.3878) outside the Nucerian Gate, which include the words *balneus Agrippae* (the rest is illegible), may refer to a bathhouse named after him.

The western provinces also benefited from Agrippa's generosity. According to Émile Espérandieu the architrave of the *Maison Carrée* at Nemausus ([plate 30](#)) was originally dedicated by Agrippa (usually shown with IMP after his name), but later changed to honour his son, C. Caesar, as presently shown in *CIL* XII.3155. Also in Nemausus are two monumental architraves from other buildings – perhaps in the adjacent precinct – inscribed with a dedication to Agrippa (*CIL* XII.3153), and from a bathing complex and temple to Diana (*CIL* XII.3154). In Lusitania, the theatre at Emerita bears a dedication mounted above the entrance archway (*aditus maximus*) to the *orchestra* confirm Agrippa was its benefactor ([plate 34](#), *CIL* II.472, II.474 = Dessau 1.130). Agrippa was acknowledged as patron in Utia (*CIL* II.1527).

Inscriptions bearing his name have been found in Greece at Andros (*IG* 12.5, 1.740), Argos (see K. Chisholm and J. Ferguson, *Rome: The Augustan Age*, Oxford 1981, pp. 132, 134–35), Athens (*IG* 3.575 Erechtheion and *IG* 3.576, *Mnemosyne* 47.1919), Corinth (*American Journal of Archaeology* 23 (1919), p. 167), Epidauros (*Ephemeris Archaeologike* (1885), 84–85 = *IG* 4.1363), Eresos on Lesbos (*IGR* 4.7 = *IG* 12.2.531), Gytheion (*IG* 5.1.1166), Korkyra (*CIL* II.1878), Megara (*IG* 7.64–65), Mytilene on Lesbos (*IGR* 4.79g = *IG* 12.2.164; *IGR* 4.65b = *IG* 12.2.169; *IGR* 4.69 = *IG* 12.2.170; *IGR* 4.78a = *IG* 12.2.172), Oropos in Boeotia (*Ephemeris Archaeologike* (1886), 57–59 = *IG* 7.349), Sparta (*CIG* I, 1299, *CIL* III.494 = *IG* 5.1.374), Tainaros (*CIL* III, 491 = *IG* 5.1), Thassos (*IG* 12.8.381b and Dessau 2.2.8784); in Asia at Ephesus ([plate 36](#), *ILS* 8977 – unusual for including 'IMP' after Agrippa's name), Illium (*IGR* 4.204), Mysia (*CIG* 2.3609) and Smyrna (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, I.1900/I.25); in Lykia at Letoon (*Fouilles de Xanthos* VII.1981, 23 and 24), Myra (*IGR* III 719) and Patara (*SEG* 44, 1208); Kalymnos (*Tituli Calymnii, Annuario Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 22–23, N.S. 6–7, 1944–45, p. 164, n. 141); and in Syria at Berytus (*CIL* III.1.156). The city of Kyzikos claimed Agrippa as its official founder (inscription of Antonia Tryphaena, *IGR* 4) and erected monuments to him (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 2.799). The city of Agrippia Caesarea (Phanagoria) raised several inscriptions honouring

Agrippa (IAO 356, 360 and 363).

Inscriptions for statues erected to him and/or his wife Iulia have been found across the Greek-speaking world at Andros (statue of Iulia, *IG* 12.5.740), Delos (statue of Agrippa, Dittenberger *Syll.* 2.1.777 = *Rheinisches Museum* 22, 1867, p. 292), Myra (statue of Agrippa, *IGR* 3.719), Mytilene (statue of Agrippa, *IGR* 4.64 = *IG* 12.2.204), Paphos (statue of Iulia, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888), p. 243, no. 69), Samos (statue of Iulia, *IGR* 4.1717) and Sestos (statues to him and his wife together, *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 4 (1880), p. 517 = *IGR* 1.821).

A fragment of a Greek translation of Augustus' *laudatio funebris* for Agrippa's funeral is preserved on papyrus as 'P. Colon. VI 249' or 'P. Köln Inv. Nr. 4701 + 4722 Recto'.

In life and death Agrippa was celebrated as 'benefactor' in Athens (*IG* 3.575 Erechtheion), Attica (*CIG* 1.309, *IG* 3.575), Mytilene (*IG* 12.2.203), Oropos (*IG* 7.349). He was canonized as a 'saviour' or 'saviour god' in numerous dedications at Mytilene (*IGR* 4.70a = *IG* 12.2.171, *IG* 12.2.164 = *IGR* 4.79, *IG* 12.2.166c = *IGR* 4.67, *IG* 12.2.168 = *IGR* 4.68, *IG* 12.2.169b = *IGR* 4.65b, *IG* 12.2.170 = *IGR* 4.69, *IG* 12.2.171 = *IGR* 4.70, *IG* 12.2.172a = *IGR* 4.78, *IG* 12.2.203 = *IGR* 4.21, *IG* 12.2.204 = *IGR* 4.64, and a recently recorded specimen by Christian Habicht, 'Marcus Agrippa *Theos Soter*', *Hyperboreus* 11, 2005, pp. 242–246. *CIL* X.3691 and 3691a (Cumae) reveal Agrippa was associated with the worship of these Augustan *Lares*.

Several inscriptions were erected by freedmen of Agrippa, bearing their master's instantly recognizable *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* followed by the *cognomen* derived from their forename when a slave: M. Vispanius Narcissus, a *rogator ab scaena* (*CIL* VI.10094, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Rome, Inv. No. 29340) and the chariot racers M. Vipsanius Calamus, M. Vipsanius Dareus, M. Vipsanius Fautus and M. Vipsanius Migio or Mugio (*CIL* VI.10046 (Rome)). A certain Agrippaeus Longinus is mentioned on a fragment from Casinum (*CIL* X.1.5170). A tribe of Agrippia is mentioned on two inscriptions in Corinth (*Tribus Agrippia*: *American Journal of Archaeology* 23 (1919), p. 167; J.H. Kent, *The Inscriptions: 1926–1950* (Corinth 8:3; Princeton, NJ, American School of Classical Studies, 1966), no. 154).

After his death, Agrippa's name was evoked in a variety of inscriptions: at Segusio in the Alpes Cottiae, the inscription over the triumphal archway dated 9–8 BCE (*BFC* 9 (1904), 89 = Ehrenberg and Jones (1955), no. 165); in 18 CE in association with Germanicus Caesar on Samos (*IGR* 4.980) and at Delphi (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 2.779D); in connection with games on Kos in the first century CE (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3.1065); and of renovations of a building at Brixia under Trajan (*CIL* V.4315) and to the Pantheon under Septimius Severus (*CIL* VI.896 = Dessau 1.129).

4. Sculptures

Agrippa was a popular subject for ancient sculptors, particularly during the years 31 BCE–54 CE. Several carvings and busts have been identified as Agrippa, though the identification of some can be – and have been – disputed.

(a) *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome

On the south-facing enclosure wall is possibly the last official depiction of M. Agrippa from life ([plate 37](#)). It was unveiled at the time of the inauguration on 30 January 9 BCE on the occasion of the birthday of Augustus' wife, Livia Drusilla. By this time Agrippa was already dead by almost three years. The only figure on the frieze – 'S-28' – who is shown *velatus* (wearing his toga so that it covers his head) is believed by most scholars to be Agrippa. Slightly taller than the rest, he is shown as a confident and relaxed middle-aged man among the family of the *princeps* and guests from overseas. The work on the *Ara Pacis* began in 13 BCE when Agrippa was alive and presentation of him in this way may have been the artist's attempt to include Augustus' associate among the members who would have actually been present at the inauguration ceremony. The nose on the Agrippa sculpture was broken off when the structure was destroyed.

(b) Portrait Busts and Statues

At least twenty-one busts have been identified – or labelled – as M. Agrippa. All share varying accentuations of similar characteristics: a squarish, fleshy, clean shaven face, often with dimples in the cheeks; a pronounced chin with a slight double chin; deep set eyes beneath wide and bushy eyebrows, which often sag at the centre above the pupil; a long nose with a slight bridge; and a mop of hair cut short

and left tousled, combed to the front with a sweep to the right. Identifications as Agrippa are subjective and are based on comparison with other representations, such as coins and other busts of the time, for comparable style and treatment. For surveys of portraiture of the early Principate and the issues associated with identification see Boschung (1993), Fittschen (1987), Kiss (1975) and Rose (1997).

Each sculpture is an individual piece, the product of the unique talent of its artist, not the uniformity of a machine. Several appear to be copies of a common reference model. The bust in the Museo Archeologico Statale, Vibo Valentia in the Calabria region of southern Italy, has surface incrustation and wear but still preserves the heavy eyebrows, deep eyes and shape of the iconic face seen on the coin struck by Caligula (*BMCRE* I 122). The head is tilted slightly down and the expression is introspective.

In similar style, the better preserved bust in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. 2670) has a more youthful look. The bust was found at the Theatre of Marcellus where it may have once adorned the *scaena frons*. Measuring 37cm, the bust of white marble has damage to the nose, chin and left cheek and chips in both ears. The head has a slight downward tilt – consistent with it being mounted high on a decorative theatre backdrop – and there is a wistfulness in the subject's expression.

If the portrait bust ([plate 2](#)) from the Theatre of Marcellus shows a young looking Agrippa, that from Pisa in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (inv. 1963, 89) has a decidedly more mature appearance. Carved from lava stone, the bust measures 31cm. Despite the missing nose, the bust shares the distinctive eyebrows and double chin recognizable in the others.

The portrait bust discovered by Gavin Hamilton in 1792 was one of several of members of the imperial family found during excavations to the east of the temple at Gabii in the supposed area of the forum. Later part of the Borghese Collection, it was sold in 1807 to the French state along with 159 other busts and 154 statues and moved to the Louvre, Paris (inv. MA 1208) where it is today. Allowing for the small nick in the nose (which has been repaired) and ears and the polishing of the surfaces in modern times, this bust is one of the most iconic images of Agrippa to survive. At 46cm it is also one of the largest. The portrait is highly naturalistic and has all the characteristic

features associated with Agrippa's visage. The sculptor has captured the man in a candid and unemotional mood.

Similar stylistically to the Gabii statue bust is another (plate 3) in the Louvre (MA 3554) which originally came from Rusicada (Philippeville) in Algeria (Roman Numidia). The bust is now missing the top of the head from above the hairline up, the nose and the neck below the jaw. The top and back surfaces are flat and there is a piece of a metal pin suggesting the lost part of the bust was attached separately in antiquity. The remaining portion measures 22cm. The quality of the workmanship is of the highest order, for example in the way the sculptor carved the fleshiness of the cheeks into the white marble. It has been dated to the reign of Claudius.

The Museo degli Uffizi, Florence has in its extensive collection a bust of Agrippa (inv. 1914, no. 90) which was found in Rome and at one time may have been owned by Lorenzo de' Medici. It too bears remarkable similarities to the Gabii head (inv. MA 1208). The 68cm bust of white marble has repairs to the nose and ears and sits on a modern stand.

The Villa Spigarelli, Anzio (Roman Antium) has an Agrippa which is almost identical to the bust in Florence (inv. 1914, no. 90). Carved from a block of white marble it is in an excellent state of preservation. Antium was a resort town frequented by members of Augustus' family and his successors. The Villa Spigarelli was built on the site of an upscale Roman residence. The bust has also been dated to the reign of Claudius.

In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen are two busts. The best preserved (inv. 608) is 42cm high. The surface of the white marble is scuffed and the nose is broken. The hair is swept forward, the centre waving to the right. The unfinished rear and neck, scored with rough chisel marks, suggests it was part of a sculpture which stood against a wall where the back would not be seen. The face exudes toughness and confidence, betraying a serious, no nonsense personality. The second bust (inv. 609) shows Agrippa wearing a headband (*corona navalis*). It is also unfinished on the rear and right sides and the random chisel marks on these surfaces indicate the piece was placed against a wall and that it was intended to be viewed only from the front. The fragment measures 48cm high by 24cm wide, the face itself just 21.5cm. The features are badly worn, the chin and nose

are broken and the surface texture is marked, but two deep furrows are still clearly visible. The bust conveys both the *gravitas* and modesty of the victor of battles on land and sea yet whose face bears the personal cost of war experienced firsthand.

In the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse is a bust (inv. 30002) which was originally part of a statue group from Colonia Urbs Iulia Baeterrae (modern Béziers, Hérault), a city founded for veterans of *Legio VII* in Gallia Narbonensis. Carved out of white marble, it was probably once part of a togate statue. The fragment is 32cm high, of which the head alone measures 24.5cm, and is missing the nose. The face appears narrower than the Ny Carlsberg (inv. 608) and other examples.

The bust in the Palazzo Spado, Rome (inv. 234) was severed at the neck in antiquity and is fitted to a modern replica of the base for display. Carved of fine grain white marble the face measures just 19.5cm and features a notably narrow face. The bust portrays a composed and calm individual, but the downward sloping eyebrows and expression of the lips hint at a melancholic mood. On stylistic grounds it has been dated to the reign of Tiberius.

Sharing the same squarish shape of the Copenhagen (inv. 608) bust is the head in the Museum at the University of Bochum, Germany. Cut from white marble with a crystalline composition, the stone has a greenish yellow colouration. Of the many busts to survive, this one, with its heavy eyebrows, cheek dimples and unemotional stare typifies more than most the 'classic' look of Agrippa.

A badly damaged head, believed to come from Ancona or somewhere in the Marche region of central Italy, has disappeared since its discovery and is known only from photographs in the archive of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Heidelberg, Germany. The white marble bust is notable for the heavy eyebrows, which arch upwards, and the brow with four deep furrows.

The incomplete bust (statue inv. 91422, head inv. 932) in the Lucus Feroniae Museum at Capena near Rome has been re-assembled from many fragments. It is similar in appearance to the specimens in Bochum and Copenhagen (inv. 608). Carved from Pentelic marble from quarries near Athens, Greece, at 32cm it was originally part of a statue that stood 1.77m tall. It is detailed to a very high standard, particularly the deep eyes, heavy eyebrows and three furrows on the

brow. Unusual in busts of Agrippa, there is a dimple in the chin. The portrait conveys strength of character and assured self-confidence. Stylistically it is very similar to the Agrippa (S-28) on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.

From the Esquiline Hill in Rome, and now in the Jandolo Collection, is a bust carved from white, fine grain marble measuring 34cm high. It was originally part of a statue from which it was severed, and the nose is modern. A serious, almost scowling Agrippa is shown with his head covered with a fold of his *toga* as he does on the *Ara Pacis*.

The bust in the British Museum, London (inv. 1881) also comes from a togate state of Agrippa displayed originally on the island of Capri. Some 46cm high, the portrait is well preserved, and the finish is exceptional. The *toga*, which covers the head, is smashed from the body at the rear of the head, though a long section is preserved on the left side. The tip of the nose is a modern restoration. Agrippa has a slimmer face in this interpretation and the artist has imbued the subject with a calm but authoritative appearance.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York has an exceptional bronze bust (inv. 14.130.2) found on 11 August 1904 in the forum at Segusium (Susa, Piedmont). A full 31cm high, it originally came from a full statue, small pieces of which have been found close to the find site. The accompanying fragmentary inscription indicates it was dedicated to Agrippa by a son of Cottius, the client king and *praefectus* of the Alpine district who died around 13 BCE, providing a *terminus post quem* for the piece. The artist has created a bust of Agrippa as an idealized figure – the eyebrows are narrow and arch upwards, but there is no double chin or dimples in the cheeks and the hair line at the front is a neat fringe. The eyes, which would have been enamelled, are now missing, but even without them, the face portrays an individual who is confident and commanding.

The Museo Gregoriano Profano in Vatican City has a togate statue (inv. 9951) from the theatre at Caere in southern Etruria which stands 2m tall. The head, measuring 25cm high, is carved of quality Greek marble. Though identified as Agrippa it looks more like busts of Tiberius Caesar (from the side) or Drusus the Elder (from the front), yet the shape of the face, wide downward curving eyebrows and furrowed brow displayed on this statue are characteristics of the

Agrippa from Capri in the British Museum (inv. 1881).

The bust ([plate 1](#)) in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin (inv. 1858), was found in the *prytaneion* or executive building of Magnesia al Meandro, a town near Ephesus in Asia Minor. Carved of white marble, the fine bust, which extends to the base of the neck, is 44cm high and in very good condition, allowing for scuffing on the tip of the nose. The eyes and head turn slightly to the left. Two furrows score the brow and the hair parts above the bust's left eye. The sculptor has produced a portrait of a man calmly looking into the distance.

Excavations in the theatre (or odeon) at *Colonia Augusta Buthrotum* (Butrint) produced larger-than-life size early Imperial statues of Augustus, Livia and Agrippa. The bust, now in the Archaeological Museum in Tirana, Albania (inv. 583), shows a youthful Agrippa – there is no double chin and the furrows on the brow are light – which is quite different from the other specimens. There is the look of an analytical mind in this face. Carved of white marble, the head is in a good state of preservation, allowing for surface contamination. It measures 36cm from the top of the head to the base of the neck.

Also from Butrint, and on display at the onsite archaeological museum, is a weather damaged bust. It was found in the so-called Tower of Inscriptions. The style of this sculpture is similar to the one from Ancona or in the Palazzo Spada (inv. 234). The bust shows signs of weathering with discolouration on the left side, the nose of this specimen has broken off and there is a chip in one of the ear lobes.

The Six Collection in Amsterdam has a marble bust which came originally from Rome. Measuring 32cm high, the white marble bust has stylistic similarities to the one from Butrint now in Tirana (inv. 583).

Several busts were recarved in antiquity to transform the original subject into another person. One of these ([plate 24](#)) is the colossal, heroic and muscular statue of Agrippa from the Grimani Collection in the Archaeological Museum in Venice (inv. 11). The lower portion of the 3.17m high nude statue has been assembled from fragments, including the pedestal, feet, legs, thighs as well as the right arm. The face shows distinct signs of having been abraded to alter the brow and eyebrows. It may have originally had the head of M. Antonius based on its resemblance to a bust of him in Narbonne.

The most comprehensive recent analysis of sculptures of our

subject is by Ilaria Romeo (Rome 1998). She identifies three distinct and successive ‘types’, which she argues correspond to a ‘phase’ in Agrippa’s career. The first emerges as the man as military commander transitions to becoming associate of Augustus and a member of the *gens Iulia*. The busts found at Vibo Valentia and Gabii (*Ibid*, pp. 47–55) she proposes date to this period. They are characterized by youthful, somewhat idealized features – thick tousled hair and heavy eyebrows. At the height of his career he appears as a mature individual with a fuller face, an increasingly furrowed brow, crows’ feet around the eyes and the beginnings of a double chin, and presented with the *toga* covering the head, such as he appears on the *Ara Pacis* (*Ibid*, pp. 55–60). The third type she identifies share the characteristics of a bust found at Butrint, displaying a less naturalistic style, where the hair is less dense and the fringe combed forward over the brow, covering a receding hairline (*Ibid*, p. 60).

(c) Cameos

Several cameos produced in the Roman period depict Agrippa. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris has two cameos. The first is a two-sided cameo carved from agate. Measuring 35mm × 628mm the obverse has a profile of Agrippa facing left wearing his combined *corona navalis* and *muralis* on his head and a commander’s *paludamentum* over his shoulder. The second, measuring 34mm × 648mm, shows a laureate head of Augustus (left) facing a head of Agrippa crowned with a *corona rostrata* and *muralis* (right).

The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England has an onyx cameo (inv. P. 35 (CM)) which measures 95mm × 95mm showing Agrippa in profile facing left wearing a *corona navalis*.

The Medagliere Capitolino, Rome has an exquisite cameo (inv. 6738) of incised carnelian. Measuring 1.9cm in diameter, the finely carved, naturalistic profile of Agrippa shows him facing left wearing his combined *corona navalis* and *muralis*.

Agate was the choice of material of the artist of the cameo in the Pappalardo Collection, Catania. The piece is oval in shape and 60mm high. The beautiful portrait, which faces right, recalls the profile of the Agrippa in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. 608).

Notes

Abbreviations

(a) *Modern*

Chapter 1: New Man in Rome

1. For Argyrip(p)a see Cairns (1995), pp. 215–216.
2. Cairns (1995), pp. 215–216. For Arpinum see Roddaz (1984), p. 23 and Reinhold (1933), p. 9f. n.37.
3. Suet., *Calig.* 23.1; Vell. Pat. 2.96.1.
4. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.8: ‘*quinguagenesimo uno raptus anno*’.
5. Dio 54.28.
6. Most scholars, like Roddaz (1984), pp. 23–24, prefer 63 BCE, as noted by Meyer (1933), p. 1, who cites Rohden-Dessau (p. 439) for 62 BCE, but I agree with Reinhold in arguing for 64 BCE, assuming Pliny means he had reached 51 in late March 12 BCE.
7. Steele (1918), p. 117, remarks Agrippa was ‘dissatisfied with his gentile name but sought to retain the color of his primeval dignity by using the *praenomen*’.
8. Sen., *Contro.* 2.4.13: ‘*Vipsanius Agrippa fuerat, (at) Vipsani nomen quasi argumentum paternae humilitatis sustulerat et M. Agrippa dicebatur.*’ My thanks to Bob Durrett for the translation. Syme (1958) posits that Agrippa had decided to drop Vipsanius from his name by 38 BCE in alignment with Octavius’ own name change to ‘Imperator Caesar Divi F.’ around the same time: see p.45 of this volume.
9. Sen., *Contro.* 2.4.12–13: ‘*cum defenderet reum, fuit accusator qui diceret: “Agrippae, Marce et quod in medio est” (voluit Vipsanium intellegi), [fuit qui diceret] ‘concurrite, Agrippae: malum habebi(t)i(s, (nisi) responderitis (ad) ea, Marce alterque!’.*
10. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.8: ‘*In pedes procidere nascentem contra naturam est, quo argumento eos appellavere Agrippas ...*’. This explanation is given by Aul. Gel., *Noct. Att.*, B. xvi. c. 6. – B.).
11. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.8: ‘*... ut aegri partus, qualiter et M. Agrippam ferunt genitum, unico prope felicitatis exemplo in omnibus ad hunc modum genitis.*’
12. *CIL* VI.896 = *ILS* 129.1.
13. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.139.
14. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.6 (7.45): ‘*quamquam is quoque adversa pedum valitudine, misera iuventa*’.
15. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.6: ‘*adversa pedum*’. The reference to weak legs recalls the unlucky breech birth. Weak legs were also attributed to Germanicus Caesar who

rode horses to strengthen them.

16. Suet., *Calig.* 23.1: 'Agrippae ... ignobilitatem'; Tac., *Ann.* 1.3.1: 'M. Agrippam ... ignobilem loco'.
17. Vell. Pat. 2.96.1: 'Mors deinde Agrippae, qui novitatem suam multis rebus nobilitaverat atque in hoc perduxerat'.
18. Roddaz (1884), p. 22ff.
19. Nicolet (1984), p.98; Wells (1984), p. 8. On the changing status of the *equites* in the period of the late Republic through the early Principate, see Henderson (1963), pp. 61–72.
20. McCall (2002), pp. 123–136.
21. Nic. 7.6 inferred.
22. Paoli (1963), p. 167.
23. Paoli (1963), p. 169–170.
24. Livy 2.16, 2.32, and 2.33. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus was consul (503 BCE) of Rome's early republic and a hero who was awarded a triumph for his victory over the Sabines. See Cairns (1995), p. 212, who also suggests a connection with the *Furii Agrippae*.
25. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.0.1.
26. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.2.17.
27. Florus 2.38; Plut., *Mar.* 23–27. For a full account of the Battle of Vercellae at Raudian Plains, see Lindsay Powell, 'The Last Clash of the Cimbri and Romans: The Battle of Vercellae, 101 BC', *Ancient Warfare* 5.1, March/April 2011, pp. 27–33; Lindsay Powell, 'Fight in the Fog: Vercellae 101 BC', *Military Heritage*, June 2012, pp. 54–59.
28. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.29.
29. Plut., *Mar.* 28.2 records he bestowed citizenship upon as many as a thousand men of Camerinum (modern Camerino in Macerata).
30. Plut., *Mar.* 28.3.
31. Plut., *Mar.* 28.4.
32. Florus 2.6; Plut., *Mar.* 32.3–33.1; App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.34–1.53.
33. Florus 2.9; Plut., *Mar.* 34.1; Plut., *Sulla* 7–9.
34. Plut., *Sulla* 9.7–10.2.
35. Plut., *Mar.* 41.2–43.3.
36. Plut., *Mar.* 46.5.
37. Plut., *Mar.* 45.1; Plut., *Sulla* 31.1–2, 4–6.
38. Plut., *Sulla* 37.1.
39. Plut., *Sulla* 38; App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.105–106)
40. Plut., *Sulla* 38; Plut., *Pomp.* 8–9.
41. Plut., *Pomp.* 10–11.
42. Plut., *Pomp.* 12.
43. Plut., *Pomp.* 12.3.
44. Plut., *Pomp.* 13.4–5; *Crass.* 7.1–2.
45. Plut., *Pomp.* 14.1–3.
46. Plut., *Pomp.* 14.4–6.
47. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.108–112.

48. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.113.
49. Florus 2.10; App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.114.
50. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.115.
51. Plut., *Crass.* 4–5.
52. Plut., *Crass.* 6.3, 6.6.
53. Plut., *Crass.* 2.3.
54. Plut., *Crass.* 2.4.
55. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 33.10.134.
56. Florus 2.8; App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.116.
57. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.117.
58. Plut., *Crass.* 10.1.
59. Plut., *Crass.* 10.2.
60. Plut., *Crassus* 10.2–3.
61. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.118.
62. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.119.
63. Plut., *Crass.* 11.5, 11.7.
64. Plut., *Crass.* 11.1–7.
65. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.120.
66. Plut., *Crass.* 11.8.
67. Plut., *Crass.* 12.1; *Pomp.* 12.1.
68. Plut., *Crass.* 12.4; *Pomp.* 6.3, 23.2. For the qualifying age limits for eligibility for magistracies, see Sumner (1971): the normal age for *quaestor* was 30, *praetor* 39 and consul 42.
69. Plut., *Pomp.* 24, 25.1–3.
70. Plut., *Crass.* 13.1.
71. Plut., *Caes.* 1.2.
72. Plut., *Caes.* 5.6.
73. Plut., *Caes.* 5.8–9.
74. Plut., *Caes.* 5.8: ὠνούμενος δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις τὰ μέγιστα μικρῶν ’.
75. Plut., *Caes.* 7.1–2.
76. Plut., *Pomp.* 45.
77. Plut., *Cic.* 2.1.
78. Plut., *Cic.* 4.
79. Plut., *Cic.* 5.1, 8.6–7.
80. Plut., *Cic.* 10–24.
81. Cic., *Oratorio In Catalinam* 2.14. ‘O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae!’
82. Mulroy (1988).
83. Plut., *Caes.* 9.2.
84. Plut., *Caes.* 9.3, 10.6.
85. Plut., *Caes.* 10.1–5.
86. Plut., *Cic.* 29; Plut., *Caes.* 10.11.
87. Plut., *Pomp.* 45.
88. Plut., *Pomp.* 45.2–3.
89. Plut., *Crass.* 7.6.

90. Plut., *Caes.* 12.
91. Plut., *Caes.* 13.3–6; *Pomp.* 47.1–3.
92. Plut., *Caes.* 14.7; *Pomp.* 47.6.
93. Plut., *Caes.* 14.1.
94. Plut., *Caes.* 14.2.95.
95. Plut., *Pomp.* 48.2.
96. Plut., *Pomp.* 46.4.
97. *Lex Clodia de Civibus Romanis Interemptis*.
98. Plut., *Cic.* 32; Plut., *Caes.* 14.17.
99. Plut., *Cic.* 33.1.
100. See Tatum (1999). Respectively the *Lex Clodia de Auspiciis*, *Lex Clodia de Censoribus*, *Lex Clodia de Sodalitatibus*, *Lex Clodia de Libertinorum Suffragiis* and *Lex Clodia Frumentaria*.
101. Plut., *Caes.* 15.1–4.
102. *Caes.*, *Bell. Gall.* 1–3; Plut., *Caes.* 18–20.
103. Plut., *Pomp.* 40.5, 52.4. The design of the building was inspired by the theatre in Mytilene, Lesbos, which Pompeius visited while in the East. The site of the *Theatrum Pompeium* has been identified but little of it survives to view as its remains are located in cellars of the surrounding modern neighbourhood of homes, hotels and restaurants. The largest still-intact sections of the building are to be found in the Palazzo della Cancelleria.
104. Plut., *Caes.* 21.6.
105. Plut., *Caes.* 22–27.
106. Plut., *Crass.* 17–33; *Caes.* 28.1.
107. *Caes.*, *Bell. Gall.* 4–8; Plut., *Caes.* 22–27.
108. Plut., *Cic.* 33.3.
109. Plut., *Cic.* 33.4–8.
110. Plut., *Cic.* 35.1; *Cic.*, *Philippics* 2.21.
111. *Cic.*, *Att.* 8.11.1 ‘*uterque regnare vult*’.
112. Plut., *Caes.* 28.7.
113. Plut., *Caes.* 30.1.
114. *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.* 1.1–7; Plut., *Caes.* 28.7, 30.3.
115. *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.* 1.5: ‘*dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique pro consulibus sint ad urbem, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*’.
116. *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.* 1.7–8; Plut., *Caes.* 32.1.
117. Plut., *Caes.* 32.5.
118. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.61.
119. Suet., *Div. Iul.* 32–33: ‘*eatur*,’ inquit, ‘*quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas uocat*. “*iacta alea est*” inquit’. Menander’s line: Plut., *Pomp.* 60.2.9: ‘*Ἀνερίφθω κύβος*’; cf. *Caes.* 32.8.
120. Plut., *Caes.* 33.1.
121. *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.* 1.11.
122. Plut., *Caes.* 33.2–4.
123. *Caes.*, *Bell. Civ.* 1.14; Plut., *Caes.* 33.6–34.3.
124. Balsdon (1969), p. 120.

125. Nic. 7.6.
126. Vell. Pat. 2.59.1–2.
127. Vell. Pat. 2.59.2.
128. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 8.2 and 89.1; Vell. Pat. 2.59.4; Dio 45.3.1.
129. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26.
130. Plut., *Caes.* 3.1.
131. Cic., *De Inventione* 1.5: '*Officium autem eius facultatis videtur esse dicere adposite ad persuasionem; finis persuadere dictione*'; cf. *De Oratore* 1.137–147.
132. Cic., *De Inventione* 1.7: '*partes autem eae, quas plerique dixerunt, inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*'; cf. *De Oratore* 1.137–147.
133. Plut., *Caes.* 35.3.
134. Plut., *Caes.* 35.4–5.
135. Plut., *Caes.* 36.1–2.
136. Plut., *Caes.* 37.2–3. The legislation included restoring civic rights to the children of parents who had suffered in the time of Sulla and reducing interest rates to relieve the burdens of the debtor-class.
137. Plut., *Caes.* 38.1, 39.1.
138. Plut., *Caes.* 39.2–3, 40.1, 40.4.
139. Plut., *Caes.* 35.4–47.1.
140. Plut., *Caes.* 46.4.
141. Plut., *Pomp.* 80.1; *Caes.* 48.2.
142. Plut., *Caes.* 48.2; *Pomp.* 80.5.
143. Plut., *Caes.* 48.5–49.10.
144. Plut., *Caes.* 50.1–4; cf. Suet., *Divus Caes.* 37.
145. Nic. 7.
146. Plut., *Caes.* 52.1.
147. Plut., *Caes.* 52.4–5.
148. Plut., *Caes.* 52.4–5 and 56.7–9; Nic. 7. The triumphs were for his victory in Africa over Iuba, winning a naval battle on the Nile in Egypt, the conquest of Gaul and defeating Pharnakes of Pontus.
149. Nic. 7.
150. Nic. 9.
151. Caes., *Bell. Civ.* 1.29–2.1; Plut., *Caes.* 56.1.
152. Nic. 6.
153. Cic., *Oratio pro L. Murena* 10: '*Ac nimirum – dicendum est enim quod sentio – rei militaris virtus praestat ceteris omnibus. Haec nomen populo Romano, haec huic urbi aeternam gloriam peperit, haec orbem terrarum parere huic imperio coegit; omnes urbanae res, omnia haec nostra praeclara studia et haec forensis laus et industria latet in tutela ac praesidio bellicae virtutis*'.
154. Nic. 9–10: when he was called on to fight, his constitution often failed him, as Agrippa would come to learn.
155. Manlius, *Astronomicon* 1.797–798: '*... matrisque sub armis miles Agrippa suae*'; Nic. 11 alludes to it.
156. Keppie (1984), p. 98, notes the role of tribunes at this time was not well defined; cf. Le Bohec (1994), p. 39.

157. Caes., *Bell. Hispan.* 27–32. Caesar specifically mentions in Chapter 31 the day of battle was the *Liberalia*, the feast day of Liber or Bacchus; Plut., *Caes.*, 56.5.
158. Plut., *Caes.* 56.2; *Caes.*, *De Bello Hispaniensi* 30: Caesar refers to eighty cohorts, equivalent to eight legions, four of battle-hardened veteran (*Legiones* III, V, VI and X) and four of raw recruits; the cavalry included a detachment of Numidians led by Bogud.
159. Caes., *Bell. Hispan.* 27: ‘*Ita cum clamor esset intermixtus gemitu gladiatorumque crepitus auribus oblatus, inperitorum mentes timore praepediebat. Hic, ut ait Ennius, pes pede premitur, armis teruntur arma, adversariosque vehementissime pugnantes nostri agere coeperunt.*’
160. Caes., *Bell. Hispan.* 41.
161. Caes., *Bell. Hispan.* 32: ‘*Ex hostium armis pro caespite cadavera conlocabantur, scuta et pila pro vallo. Insuper occisorum in gladiatorum mucronibus capita hominum ordinata ad oppidum conversa. Universa hostium timorem ... virtutisque insignia proposita viderent, et vallo circumcluderentur adversarii.*’
162. Caes., *Bell. Hispan.* 41; Plut., *Caes.* 56.3, says 30,000 of the enemy were slain to Caesar’s 1,000.
163. Caes., *Bell. Hispan.* 32–39.
164. Dio 45.10.1–6; Plut., *Caes.* 56.6.
165. Nic. 10–11; Vell. Pat. 2.59.3.
166. Nic. 11.
167. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.154; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59.3.
168. Nic. 11.
169. Nic. 11.
170. The different arrival times might be explained if Agrippa went by road and Octavius went by sea.
171. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.9: for *magister equitum* see Appendix.
172. Plut., *Caes.*, 56.7.
173. Nic. 7.
174. Nic. 11.
175. Vell. Pat. 2.59.5. For Salvidienus see Dio 48.33.2; Ségolène (1992), p. 30.
176. Nic. 15.
177. Nic. 16.
178. Dio 45.3.1.
179. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.9; Dio 45.1.7–8; Vell. Pat. 2.59.4.
180. Strab., *Geog.* 7.8.316.
181. Nic. 16. On Illyrian-Roman relations see Wilkes (1995), p. 209.
182. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.9: ‘καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἱππέων ἱλαὶ παραλλάξ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιιοῦσαι συνεγύμναζον καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινες ὡς συγγενεῖ Καίσαρος θαμινὰ ἐπεφοίτων’.
183. Nic. 16. Glabrio was consul in 67 BCE.
184. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.9: ‘γνώσις τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ εὖνοια παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τις ἐνεγίγνετο, σὺν χάριτι δεξιουμένῳ πάντας’.
185. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 8.2 and 89.1; Vell. Pat. 2.59.4; Dio 45.3.1.
186. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 94.12: ‘*cum Agrippae, qui prior consulebat, magna et paene*

incredibilia praedicerentur'.

187. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 94.12: 'metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur'.

188. E.g. Dio 49.43.5.

189. Four months: Nic. 16; cf. six months: App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.9.

190. Nic. 16.

191. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.9; Nic. 16.

Chapter 2: Champion of the New Caesar

1. Dio 45.3.1.

2. Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 2.2, 2.11.

3. Caes., *Bell. Hisp.* 2.12, 3.22.

4. Nic. 8.

5. Nic. 16.

6. Paternulus 2.59.5; App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.10; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 8.2; Nic. 17.

7. Nic. 16.

8. Nic. 16, 18–20; App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.10.

9. Nic. 17.

10. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.10–11.

11. Nic. 17.

12. Nic. 17.

13. Nic. 17.

14. Vell. Pat. 2.60.1–2.

15. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.11: 'ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ καὶ τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖν αὐτὸν Καίσαρι αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἦει, προπέμψας καὶ διερευνησάμενο'.

16. Nic. 17.

17. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.18.

18. Nic. 27.

19. Plut., *Ant.* 13.2.

20. Plut., *Brut.* 18.8.

21. Plut., *Ant.* 13.2; *Brut.* 18.7.

22. Plut., *Brut.* 18.10–13.

23. Plut., *Cic.* 42.1, 42.3; *Brut.* 19.1.

24. Plut., *Brut.* 19.2.

25. Plut., *Brut.* 19.3.

26. Plut., *Brut.* 19.5; cf. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.12 who notes Brutus and Cassius had been granted Macedonia and Syria respectively, but the Senate denied them these and awarded them the lesser territories.

27. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.12.

28. Plut., *Ant.* 15.1.

29. Plut., *Ant.* 15.2.

30. Dio 45.9.1; Plut., *Ant.* 15.3.

31. Plut., *Ant.* 13.3–4; *Brut.* 20.4.

32. Plut., *Brut.* 20.4; *Cic.*, 42.4.

33. Plut., *Brut.* 20.6–7.

34. Plut., *Brut.* 21.1; *Cic.*, 42.5.

35. Livy, *Per.* 117.2; Nic. 17.

36. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.10; Cic., *Att.* 14.10: 'Octavius arrived at Neapolis on the 14th Kalends. There Balbus saw him on the morning of the following day and on the same day came to me at Cumae to tell me that he was going to claim his inheritance; but, as you say, he will have a lively time with Antonius.'
37. Cic., *Att.* 14.12: 'Octavius treats me with the greatest distinction and friendship. Some call him Caesar. Philippus does not; therefore I do not. I am sure that he cannot be a good citizen, so many of those around him threaten death to our friends and say that these things cannot be borne. What think you when this boy shall come to Rome where our liberators cannot live in safety? They will always be famous, and happy also in the consciousness of what they have done. But, unless I am deceived, we shall be flat on our backs.'
38. Nic. 17.
39. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.11; cf. 3.94.
40. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.11.
41. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.14.
42. Dio 45.5.3–4.
43. Plut., *Ant.* 9.1–10.1.
44. Dio 45.9.1; Cic., *Philippicae* 2.42.109.
45. Plut., *Ant.* 21.2; cf. 10.2. Presumably the *Domus Rostrata*, the house whose exterior walls were decorated with captured ships' beaks.
46. Plut., *Ant.* 21.1.
47. Huzar (1978), pp. 88–89, 94.
48. Vell. Pat. 2.59.6: '*Cui adventanti Romam inmanis amicorum occurrit frequentia, et cum intraret urbem, solis orbis super caput eius curvatus aequaliter rotundatusque in colorem arcus velut coronam tanti mox viri capiti imponens conspectus est.*'
49. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.12.
50. Cic., *Ad Att.* 14.14.5; 16.14.4; *Philippicae* 1.17; 2.35, 93; 8.26; Vell. Pat. 2.60.4; cf. *Obsequens* 68. Plut., *Cic.* 43.8 states Antonius was withholding 25,000,000 *drachmai* from the estate.
51. Plut., *Ant.* 16.1–2. Appian dramatizes the frank exchange of views in *Bell. Civ.* 3.15–21.
52. Plut., *Cic.* 45.1.
53. Plut., *Cic.* 43.3.
54. Many modern historians insist on calling him Octavianus, or worse Octavian. I use the name Caesar, the name he chose for himself, for the same reasons as Dio 46.47.7–8: 'I shall call him, not Octavianus, but Caesar, inasmuch as the latter name has prevailed among all who have held sway over the Romans. For although he acquired another name also – that of Augustus – and the emperors who succeeded him consequently assumed it also, that one will be described when it comes up in the history, and until then the title Caesar will be sufficient to show that Octavianus is indicated.'
55. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.94.
56. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.94; Nic. 27; Dio 45.5.4. Many modern scholars argue the games were in honour of Caesar's victories – *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* – but a compelling case is made for the games being held in honour of Venus Genetrix

- in Ramsey (1997), pp. 1–6 which contests the interpretation and proposes the games were to Venus Genetrix.
57. Dio 45.7.1 refers to a star; Suet., *Div. Iul.* 88 says the comet appeared for seven days at the eleventh hour each day. Caesar's Comet is believed to be comet C/-43 K1 which Ramsey, Licht and Marsden (1997), pp. 3–4 deduced from astronomical calculations to have appeared over Rome 23–25 July 44 BCE.
 58. For a full discussion see Kenneth Scott, 'The *Sidus Iulium* and the Apotheosis of Caesar' in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Jul., 1941), pp. 257–272 and Robert A. Gurval, 'Caesar's Comet: The Politics and Poetics of an Augustan Myth' in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 42 (1997), pp. 39–71.
 59. Dio 45.7.2.
 60. Dio 45.7.2: 'καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐτοίμως, ἄλλως τε καὶ χρήμασι θεραπευθέντων τινῶν, συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.'
 61. For a discussion see Ramage (1985), pp. 223–241.
 62. Dio 45.7.1; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.94. Later a denarius was minted showing the comet of eight rays and upward pointing tail: *BMCRE* I 323, *RIC* 1 37b, *RSC* 98.
 63. E.g. Crawford 490.2.
 64. Crawford 497.2a-d
 65. Plut., *Cic.* 43.4–5.
 66. Plut., *Cic.* 43.6–7.
 67. Huzar (1978), pp. 97–98.
 68. Nic. 28.
 69. Nic., 29.115–119; Plut., *Ant.* 16.3; App., *Bell. Civ.* 2.111–115; Dio 45.8.1–2.
 70. Cic., *Philippicae* 1.12–13, 2.110.
 71. Nic. 28.
 72. Nic. 30.
 73. Dio 45.7.2, 45.11.1–4.
 74. Dio 45.12.1; App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.49.
 75. Dio 45.13.1.
 76. Dio 45.13.2.
 77. Nic. 30.
 78. Vell. Pat. 2.88.2; Tac., *Ann.* 6.11.1. See Ségolène (1992), pp. 86–87.
 79. Livy, *Per.* 117.3; Dio 45.12.2.
 80. Nic. 30.
 81. Dio 45.12.1.
 82. Dio 45.12.1–3; Nic. 30.
 83. Dio 45.12.3.
 84. Nic. 30.
 85. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.93; Dio 45.12.3; Livy, *Per.* 117.4.
 86. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.44; Nic. 30.
 87. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.45; Dio 45.12.4.
 88. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.44, 3.46; Dio 45.12.5.
 89. Dio 45.14.1; Nic. 28.
 90. Dio 45.14.1; Nic. 28; App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.49, 3.97.
 91. Dio 45.14.3.

92. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.61.
93. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.45.
94. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.46, 3.49; Florus 2.15; Livy, *Per.* 117.4.
95. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.49.
96. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.50.
97. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.47
98. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.48.
99. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.47.
100. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.51, 3.64; Livy, *Per.* 118.2.
101. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.61.
102. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.64; cf. 3.75.
103. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.65.
104. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.65.
105. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.66.
106. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.68.
107. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.69.
108. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.70.
109. Cic., *Ad Fam.* 10.30, letter dated 20 April 43 BCE.
110. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.65.
111. Nic. 28.
112. *Ad Lucan*, 1.41: '*Mutina ... Augustus Antonio victo per Agrippam (Decimum) Brutum liberavit*' cited by Roddaz (1984), p. 41; cf. Livy, *Per.* 119.6.
113. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.71.
114. Livy, *Per.* 119.5.
115. Cic., *Ad Fam.* 11.14; *Ad Brutum* 4.
116. Livy, *Per.* 119.6; Cic., *Ad Fam.* 11.10 – May 5.
117. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.72, 3.97.
118. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.74.
119. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.75.
120. Cic., *Ad Fam.* 11.10.
121. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.80.
122. Livy, *Per.* 119.6.
123. Cic., *Ad Fam.* 11.20: '*laudandum, adulescentem, ornandum, tollendum*'.
124. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.96.
125. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.81.
126. Livy, *Per.* 119.7.
127. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.82.
128. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 26.1: '*Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis*'; Dio 46.43.4: 'ἂν ὑμεῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν μὴ δῶτε τῷ Καίσαρι, τοῦτο δώσει'.
129. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.94; Dio 46.45.3, 46.44.2; Livy, *Per.* 119.7. Iulius Caesar was 43 when he first assumed the consulship in 60 BCE.
130. Dio 46.45.5, 46.47.1.
131. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.94.
132. Dio 46.47.1.
133. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.94; Dio 46.46.1; Vell. Pat. 2.65; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 32.

134. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.94.
135. RG 2; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 10.1, *Ner.* 3.2; Livy, *Per.* 120; App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.95, 3.27; Dio 46.48–49.
136. Plut., *Brut.* 27; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.69.5.
137. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.1.
138. Dio 46.49.3. If Agrippa had indeed been born plebeian, it may have been at this time and through this process that he achieved the property qualification to officially become a member of the *ordo equester*. See Reinhold (1933), p. 21 n. 2.
139. Servius, *Ad. Aen.* 8.682: ‘... *nam et tribunus plebi quietissimus fuit ...*’.
140. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.1.
141. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.96.
142. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.98; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.64; Livy, *Per.* 120.2.
143. App., *Bell. Civ.* 3.98.
144. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.2.
145. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.3.
146. Plut., *Ant.* 19.1; cf. the later division 30.4; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.53.
147. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.3 lists among them Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo.
148. Cf. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.8 ‘Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the *res publica*’. Some historians suggest the day the act was passed marked the end of the Roman Republic.
149. Our sources tell us lamentably little on the subject. Appian’s statement that the triumvirs had powers equal to the consuls (*Bell. Civ.* 4.7) probably justifies us in concluding that under the *Lex Titia* they held *imperium consulare*, as did proconsuls until the imperial period. A recently discovered inscription probably shows that they were regarded as promagistrates rather than magistrates (J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982), no. 9, line 12; cf. no. 8, line 80. However, we have no means of knowing how and to what extent their powers were spelled out in detail under the *Lex Titia*.’ – *The Second Triumvirate Zwischen Republik und Prinzipat: zum Charakter des Zweiten Triumvirats* by Jochen Bleicken Review by J.W. Rich *The Classical Review*, New Series, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1992), pp. 112–114).
150. Plut., *Ant.* 20.1.
151. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.1, 4.3.
152. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.5.
153. Plut., *Ant.* 19.1–3; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.12.
154. Plut., *Ant.* 19.3, 20.1; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.5; Livy, *Per.* 120.4 says 130 senators were listed.
155. Plut., *Cic.* 48.1, 48.6; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.6; 4.19 reports Cicero’s brother Quintus and son Marcus were also proscribed.
156. Plut., *Cic.* 48.2–3; Livy, *Per.* 120.5 describes Popilius as a legionary soldier.
157. Plut., *Cic.* 48.6. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.20. Livy, *Per.* 120.5 says Popilius slew him.
158. Plut., *Cic.* 49.2; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.20; Dio 47.8.3. Livy, *Per.* 120.5 says his head

and right hand were displayed on the *Rostra*.

- 159. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.6.
- 160. Dio 47.3.4.
- 161. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.5; Vell. Pat. 2.66; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 27; Livy, *Per.* 120.4.
- 162. Dio 47.3.1–3.
- 163. Dio 47.4–6.
- 164. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.49.
- 165. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.31.
- 166. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.31; Dio 47.17.2–3.
- 167. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.32.
- 168. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.34.
- 169. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.34; Dio 47.16.2–5.
- 170. Dio 47.16.1.
- 171. Dio 47.19.1.
- 172. Dio 47.19.2.
- 173. Dio 47.20.1.
- 174. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.52.
- 175. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.36. Among them was M. Acilius – App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.39.
- 176. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.82.
- 177. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.85.
- 178. Dio 47.21.2.
- 179. Dio 47.21.6.
- 180. Dio 47.21.7, 47.23.1–4. Holed up in Apollonia, C. Antonius became the subject of several rescue attempts.
- 181. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.58–59; Dio 47.26.2, 47.28.1.
- 182. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.58–62, 4.65; Dio 47.32.1; Livy, *Per.* 122.1.
- 183. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.64, 4.74.
- 184. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.63, 4.74.
- 185. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.63; Dio 47.33.4.
- 186. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.65–74; Dio 47.33.3.
- 187. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.75–81; Dio 47.34.1–6; Plut., *Brut.* 30, 31.
- 188. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.88.
- 189. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.87: his brother Rhascus (Rhaskos) fought on the side of M. Antonius.
- 190. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.105–106.
- 191. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.107.
- 192. Dio 47.37.2.
- 193. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.108; Plut., *Brut.* 41.2, 41.8.
- 194. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.148: '*Philippensi proelio morbi, fuga et triduo in palude aegroti et (ut fatentur Agrippa ac Maecenas) aqua subter cutem fusa turgidi latebra.*'
- 195. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.108: 13,000 to 20,000, with Thracians on both sides.
- 196. Dio 47.37.5.
- 197. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.109.
- 198. Plut., *Brut.* 41.1.
- 199. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.110–111.

200. Dio 47.37.3, 47.46.2; Plut., *Brut.* 41.4–8, 42.6.
201. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.112; Plut., *Brut.* 42.4–5.
202. Plut., *Brut.* 42.1.
203. Plut., *Brut.* 42.5, 43.1–3.
204. Plut., *Brut.* 42.4–5.
205. Plut., *Brut.* 42.7–9.
206. Plut., *Brut.* 44, 45.
207. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.112; Plut., *Brut.* 45.1.
208. Plut., *Brut.* 47.1–3.
209. Plut., *Brut.* 47.4–6; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.122.
210. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.126–127.
211. Plut., *Brut.* 49.4; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.128: Appian cites preparations lasted until the ninth hour.
212. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.129.
213. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.129; Plut., *Brut.* 50–51.
214. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.131; Plut., *Brut.* 52.6–7; Dio 47.49.1.
215. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.135; Plut., *Brut.* 53.1–4. Strato took part at Actium on Caesar's side. Dio 47.49.2 reports that the body was buried but the head was shipped to Rome. During a storm at sea the head was lost overboard.
216. Suet., *Vita Horati*. See Mario Citroni, 'The Memory of Philippi in Horace and the Interpretation of Epistle 1.20.23', *The Classical Journal* 96.1 (Oct.–Nov., 2000), pp. 27–56; E.G. Sihler, 'Horace at Philippi and After', *The Classical Weekly* 4.19 (11 Mar. 1911), pp. 146–148.
217. Dio 47.49.4.
218. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.132.
219. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.115.
220. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.116.
221. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.3; Dio 48.1.2.
222. Dio 48.1.3.
223. Dio 48.2.4; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.1.
224. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.3: 'They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time, except 8,000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in praetorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavius [Caesar] had five legions and 4,000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus.' App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.6: 'Antonius spoke thus of providing a donative for twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think that they had forty-three legions when they came to their agreement at Mutina and made these promises, but the war had probably reduced them to this number.' Cf. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.22. For a survey of 'Civil War' Legions see Keppie (1984), Appendix 1 pp. 200–202.
225. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.85, 5.20, 5.31.
226. AE 1924, 55 records a veteran of *Legio XXVIII* settling there.

227. Dio 48.5.1. Keppie (1984), p. 121, says these were *Legiones* VII, VIII (maybe now called *Macedonica*) and one of the units defecting to him from Antonius.
228. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.12; Dio 48.3.1.
229. Dio 48.3.2.
230. Cf. App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.3.
231. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.12–13; Dio 48.6.3. Among those made homeless were the poets Horace, Propertius, Tibullus and Vergil. Caesar was able to later boast ‘I founded colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, each Spain, Greece, Asia, Syria, Narbonian Gaul, and Pisidia, and furthermore had twenty-eight *coloniae* founded in Italy under my authority, which were very populous and crowded while I lived’ – RG 28.
232. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.15–16; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 14.
232. Dio 48 Index.
234. Dio 48.4.1, 48.5.4.
235. Dio 47.5.3.
236. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.14; Dio 48.2, 48.1–2; cf. 5.20.
237. Dio 48.5.4, 5.3.19.
238. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.14. The ancient historians blame Fulvia for the war: Vell. Pat. 2.74; Plut., *Ant.* 30; Dio 47.4–10.
239. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.20.
240. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.18; Dio 48.7.4.
241. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.19.
242. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.23–24.
243. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.24.
244. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.26.
245. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.27.
246. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.29.
247. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.30. Dio 48.13.2 refers to Nursia (Norcia), not Alba.
248. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.30. In 295 BCE, during the Third Samnite War, the Romans had beaten a coalition of Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians and their Gallic allies at Sentinum.
249. Dio 48.13.3–4.
250. Dio 48.13.4; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.30.
251. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.31; Dio 48.13.4.
252. Dio 48.13.6 reports ‘however, after burying those who had fallen in the battle they had had with Caesar, they inscribed on their tombs that they had died contending for their liberty, they were punished by an enormous fine, so that they abandoned their city and at the same time all their territory’.
253. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.31.
254. The route of the Via Cassia is the modern SR143.
255. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.31.
256. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.31: ‘καὶ τότε μὲν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίνετο ἅπαντα.’
257. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.31. Reinhold argues that the two proconsuls would not have left Gaul (1933), p. 18 n. 40.

258. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.31: ‘ἐνοχλούντων αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν Σαλουιδιηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.’
259. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.31; Dio 5.14.1; Vell. Pat. 2.74.3.
260. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.32.
261. Florus 2.26.
262. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.32; Dio 48.14.1.
263. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.49.
264. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.33.
265. *Eph. Epig.* 6.52–78: e.g. no. 60. OCTAVI FELAS, probably made by Lucius’ troops; nos 63. CAESAR IMP and 68. RVFVS IMP, likely made by Caesar’s troops. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.36 refers to *μολυβδαίναις*, ‘leaden balls’, among the types of weaponry used.
266. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.33.
267. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.37 refers to use of *μηχάνημα*, ‘machines’.
268. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.34.
269. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.34.
270. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.35.
271. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.35: ‘ἐνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμβολα τῷ Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεντίδιος μὲν καὶ Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὥς μαχοῦμενοι, Πλάγκος δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου, χρῆναι δ’ ἔτι καταδοκεῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα: καὶ ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ ἰδόντες ἤδοντο, τῶν δ’ ἀνδρῶν βραδυνόντων εἴκασαν καὶ τοῦσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρθαι.’
272. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.35: ‘καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος τροφὰς ἀπεῖπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ἐφύλασσε αὐτοὺς μὴδ’ ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώτερον γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἡλῶντο οὖν οἱ θεράποντες κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατέπιπτον ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου διατειχίσματος, πόαν εἴ τινα εὔροιεν ἢ φυλλάδα χλωράν, νεμόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀποψύχοντας ὁ Λεύκιος ἐς τάρρους ἐπιμήκεις κατῴρυσσεν, ἵνα μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο, μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμός καὶ νόσος.’
273. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.36; Dio 48.14.3.
274. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.37.
275. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.38.
276. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.46.
277. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.47.
278. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.48.
279. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.49.
280. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.50.
281. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.51.
282. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.66.
283. Dio 48.20.2. For a discussion of the argument, pro and contra, see Reinhold (1933), p. 21 n. 2.
284. Justinian, *Digest* 1 tit. 2 s23.
285. It became Caesar’s *modus operandi* to bend the rules to accommodate his

adopted sons and stepsons.

286. Dio 48.20.2.

287. Livy 26.23.3.

288. William M. Green, 'Appropriations for the Games at Rome in 51 A.D.' *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 51, No. 3. (1930), pp. 249–250.

289. Dio 48.20.2: 'καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τῇ τε Τροίᾳ καλουμένῃ διὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν παίδων ἐγαυρώθη.' For the *Ludus Troiae*, see Ver., *Aen.* 5.545–576.

290. Dio 48.20.2: 'καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, ἅτε καὶ πάνυ φίλος ὦν τῷ Καίσαρι.'

291. Dio 48.20.1.

292. Dio 48.20.1; cf. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.18.

293. Dio 48.20.2.

294. Dio 48.20.2: 'ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπεραιώθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ λεηλατῶν, μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο: τότε γὰρ φρουρὰν ἐν χωρίοις τισὶ καταλιπὼν ἀνέπλευσεν.'

295. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.53.

296. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.55.

297. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.53; Dio 48.20.4.

298. Dio 48.27.1–3; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.55.

299. Dio 48.27.5.

300. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.56, 5.58.

301. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.56.

302. Dio 48.28.1.

303. Dio 48.28.1; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.56–57. Servilius Rullus was tribune in 63 BCE and had proposed far-reaching reforms of the agrarian laws.

304. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.57.

305. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.58; Dio 48.28.1.

306. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.55, 5.59; Dio 48.28.2. Plut., *Ant.* 30.3.

307. Livy, *Per.* 127.2; Dio 48.28.3. Plut., *Ant.* 30.3.

308. Livy, *Per.* 127.2; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.64. Octavia's husband Marcellus had recently died.

309. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.65. Reinhold (1933), p. 23 n. 22, cites the scholiasts Porphyrio, Acron and the commentator of Cruquius on Horace, *Sermones* 1.5.27.

310. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.65; Dio 48.28.4. Cf. Plut., *Ant.* 30.4.

311. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.63.

312. Dio 48.29.1.

313. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.65.

314. Dio 48.29.2.

315. Plut., *Ant.* 30.4: '... and arranged that, when they did not wish for the office themselves, the friends of each should have the consulship by turns.'

316. Livy, *Per.* 127.3.

317. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.66.

318. Dio 48.33.1–3.

319. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.66.

1. Rüpke (2008), p. 8. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 31; Tac., *Ann.* 6.12.
2. William Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (John Murray, London, 1875).
3. Cic., *de Div.* 1.43; Livy 22.57.
4. The other members of the committee of 39 BCE were Caesar, L. Marcus Censorinus, Q. Aemilius Lepidus, Potitus Valerius Messalla, Cn. Pompeius, C. Licinius Calvus Stolo, C. Mucius Scaevola, C. Sossius, C. Norbanus Flaccus and M. Cocceius Nerva – Rüpke (2008), p. 132.
5. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.25.
6. Plut., *Ant.* 32.2.
7. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.72–733.
8. Plut., *Ant.* 32.2.
9. Plut., *Ant.* 32.3.
10. Dio 48.49.2: ‘καὶ τὸν γε ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτόν τε καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐξ τε τὴν ναυπηγίαν τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄθροισιν τὴν τε ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐρετῶν κατανάλωσε, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφορῶν καὶ διατάττων ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ κίνησις γὰρ τις παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τῷ δ’ Ἀγρίππᾳ.’
11. Agrippa’s presence in Gaul is not explicitly stated in the surviving sources but it is highly likely based on the circumstances.
12. Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 1.1: ‘*Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.*’
13. Strab., *Geog.* 4.2.1: ‘ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν λεκτέον καὶ τῶν προσωρισμένων αὐτοῖς ἐθνῶν τετταρεσκαίδεκα Γαλατικῶν τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα κατοικούντων καὶ τοῦ Λίγηρος, ὧν ἔνια ἐπιλαμβάνει καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμίας καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ναρβωνίτιν. ἀπλῶς γὰρ εἰπεῖν, οἱ Ἀκυιτανοὶ διαφέρουσι τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ φύλου κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων κατασκευὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν γλῶτταν, εἰκάσι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἰβήρσιν. ὀρίζονται δὲ τῷ Γαρούνα ποταμῷ ἐντὸς τούτου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης οἰκοῦντες. ἔστι δὲ ἔθνη τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν πλείω μὲν τῶν εἰκοσι, μικρὰ δὲ καὶ ἄδοξα τὰ πολλά, τὰ μὲν παρωκεανικὰ τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Κεμμένων ὀρῶν μέχρι Τεκτοσάγων ἀνέχοντα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μικρὰ μερίς ἦν ἡ τοσαύτη, προσέθεσαν καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Λίγηρος.’
14. Roads: Strab., *Geog.* 3.4.18.
15. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.92: ‘καὶ νίκη κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἐφάνη;’ cf. Dio 48.49.3 and Eutrop. 7.5.
16. Dio 48.49.3.
17. Dio 48.49.3: ‘τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἐγχειρίσας, τοὺς γὰρ Γαλάτας αὐτὸν τοὺς νεωτερίσαντας προσπολεμούμενον, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον δεύτερος δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διέβη, μετεπέμψατο.’
18. Dio 48.49.3: ‘καὶ τῇ τε δόσει τῶν νικητηρίων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐκπονῆσαι;’ cf. Augustus, RG 11.
19. See Sources 2.(a); cf. to coins issued in 38 BCE to announce the designate consulship of M. Antonius, e.g. aureus C.533.3b, S.1201 with obverse inscription

- IMP TERT COS DESIGN ITER ET TERT IIIVIR R P C, and *denarius* C.533.2, S.1199 with obverse IIIVIR R P C COS DESIGN ITER ET TERT; and by Caesar minted 37 BCE e.g. *denarius* Sydenham 1334, Sear *Imperators* 312, Crawford 538/1, Cohen 91 with obverse inscription COS ITER ET TER DESIGN.
20. *CIL* 1².28, 65, 158–159; Dio 48 Index, 48.49.4 and 49.23.5; Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 14.16.4.
 21. *Tresviri monetales*: Ironically in 12 BCE, the year of Agrippa's death.
 22. *CIL* IV.2437 (Pompeii): IV NON DEC USCE AD VI EID DEC M AGRIP T STAT COS referring to 2–8 December.
 23. Dio 48.49.3: 'καὶ τῇ τε δόσει τῶν νικητηρίων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐκπονῆσαι ἐξασκησαί τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκέλευσε.' Scholars have debated Agrippa's reasoning for declining the honour of the triumph, for example, see Reinhold (1933), p. 28 n. 2–3 and p. 29 n. 4.
 24. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.25–26: 'ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε ἡσσω ἐγένετο.'
 25. Dio 48.45.5.
 26. Dio 48.46.1.
 27. Dio 48.46.2–3.
 28. Dio 48.46.4.
 29. Dio 48.46.5.
 30. Dio 48.47.1–2.
 31. Dio 48.47.3–4.
 32. Dio 48.47.5.
 33. Dio 48.48.1.
 34. Dio 48.48.2–5.
 35. Florus 2.18 calls this '*bellum cum Sexto Pompeio*', but some modern historians refer to this as The Sicilian War, e.g. Reinhold (1933), chapter 4, pp. 28–44; Stone, S.C. (2002), 'Sextus Pompeius, Octavianus and Sicily' in Powell and Welch (2002), pp. 135–65.
 36. Dio 49.49.2–3.
 37. Vell. Pat. 2.79.1: '*Aedificandis navibus contrahendoque militi ac remigi navalibusque adsuescendo certaminibus atque exercitationibus praefectus est M. Agrippa, virtutis nobilissimae, labore, vigilia, periculo invictus parendique, sed uni, scientissimus, aliis sane imperandi cupidus et per omnia extra dilationes positus consultisque facta coniungens.*'
 38. Dio 48.49.4: 'τὸ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸν πάνυ προθύμως ἐξεργάσατο.'
 39. The *rostrum* or ram of a warship was found in 2008 offshore from Acqualadrone in northeastern Sicily still attached to a wooden stump. Analysis of the acids and other substances in the wooden remains of the warship, which likely fought in the First Punic War, show that the strutwork is pine (*Pinus salius*), waterproofed with pine tar. The *rostrum* is cast bronze, with a wooden core that was preserved by burial beneath the seafloor. Carbon-14 analysis gave a date of 277±83 BC. The ship may have been damaged during the Battle of Tyndaris (257 BC) or of Mylae (260 BC) fought between the navies of Rome and Carthage.

40. Pitassi (2011), p.123; cf. W.L. Roger's reconstruction which shows a bireme at 33.5m (110 feet) in length and a beam of 5m (16.5 feet) in Starr (1941), [plate 5](#): the crew would likely comprise 25 seamen, 108 rowers and 80 marines.
41. Rogers (2008), pp. 199–226.
42. Pitassi (2011), pp.125–126.
43. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.106.
44. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.106; Dio 49.3.4. An earlier versions of this device is recorded in Thucydides 7.62 where Nikias advises the Athenians 'we have provided iron grapnels, which will prevent any ship striking us from getting off if the marines are quick and do their duty'.
45. Servius, *Aeneid* 8.693: '*nam Agrippa primus hoc genus turrium invenit, ut de tabulatis subito erigerentur, simul ac ventum esset in proelium, turres hostibus inprovisae, in navigando essent occultae*'. See App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.72 for the later use of these collapsible turrets by Cassius in his siege of the Rhodians at Myndos.
46. For a full description of the device see Polybios 1.22–23.
47. Dio 48.49.4: 'ἐγίγνετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραθαλασσίῳ Ἰταλία τὰ σκάφη.'
48. Dio 48.49.4–5: 'ἐγίγνετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραθαλασσίῳ Ἰταλία τὰ σκάφη. ὥς δ' οὐδείς αἰγιαλὸς ἐγκαθορμίσσασθαι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῆς εὐρίσκετο ἄλμιννα γὰρ ἔτι καὶ τότε τὰ πλεῖω τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἦν, ἔργον μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἐνενόησε καὶ ἐξεποίησεν, ὃ ἐγὼ διὰ πλεόνων ἐξηγησάμενος ἐκεῖνό τε ἐπιδείξω τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸ νῦν ὄντα.'
49. Dio 48.50.1–3: 'ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ Καμπανίδι χωρίον τι μεταξὺ Μισσηνοῦ καὶ Πουτεόλων μνηοειδὲς ἔστιν: ὄρεσί τε γὰρ σμικροῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς, πλὴν βραχέων, περιεΐληπται, καὶ θάλασσαν τριπλὴν κολπῶδη ἔχει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔστιν, ἡ δ' ὀλίγη διαφυῇ ἀπ' αὐτῆς διειργεται, ἄλλη ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μυχῷ λυμνώδης ὁραταί. καὶ καλεῖται αὕτη μὲν Λουερνίς, ἡ δὲ μέση Λουκρινίς: ἡ γὰρ ἔξω, τοῦ Τυρσηνικοῦ οὖσα, ἐς ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τελεῖ. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσῃ τῇ ἐντὸς ἑκατέρας στενοῖς τότε ἔσπλοις τὸ διεῖργον τὴν Λουκρινίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡπειρον ὁ Ἀγρίππας συντρήσας λυμένας ναυλοχωτάτους ἀπέδειξεν.'
50. Brandon, Hohlfelder and Oleson (2008), pp. 374–379.
51. Vergil, *Georgicon* 2.161–164: '*an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra | atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor, | Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso | Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Auernis?*'
52. Pliny, *Nat. His.* 36.125: '*nam ... praetereo ... mare Tyrrhenum a Lucrino molibus seclusum.*'
53. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 16.1.
54. Dio 48.51.5: 'καὶ ἐς αὐτὰς τότε ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἔσπλους ἐξεποίησε, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ἡθροίσε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέφραττε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἰκρίων ἐρέττειν ἤσκει.'
55. Florus 2.18.6; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 16.1. Vell. Pat. 2.79.1–2.
56. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 16.1. Dio 48.49.1.
57. Velleius 2.79.1–2: '*Hic in Averno ac Lucrino lacu speciosissima classe fabricata cotidianis exercitationibus militem remigemque ad summam et militaris et maritimae rei perduxit scientiam.*'

58. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.93.
59. Plut., *Ant.* 35.
60. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.93.
61. Plut., *Ant.* 35; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.94–95; Dio 48.54.1–6.
62. Cic., *Att.* 6.2.10, 4.3.
63. Cic., *Att.* 13.21.7; *Ad Brutum* 1.17.7. She was born between May and September 51 BCE according to Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 5.19.2.
64. Nepos, *Atticus* 12.1–2. Antonius regularly corresponded with Atticus – Nepos, *Atticus* 20.4.
65. Cic., *Ad Atticum* 6.2.10, 4.3.
66. Nepos, *Atticus* 21.4–5, 22.2.
67. Suet., *Tib.* 7.2; *CIL* V.6359, VI.9901a.
68. Powell (2011), pp. 1–3.
69. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.96.
70. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.96: ‘οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαύουσι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοὺς περιέσθηκε κατὰ ναῦν μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης: οἱ δὲ ἱερουργοὶ θύουσι μὲν ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ σκαφῶν περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμπεριπλεόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρωμένων ἐς τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ ἀπαίσια τραπῆναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτὰ, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ἄπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεὼς ἐπευφημεῖ.’
71. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.97. Dio 49.1.1 says the fleets sailed in the spring.
72. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.97–98.
73. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.98: ‘οὕτω μὲν ἐκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενομένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνήγοντο πάντες ἅμα ἡοῖ, Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίαις ὀκτάσι καὶ μακρᾷς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα καὶ ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ ἑτέρα παρασκευῇ πολλῇ.’
74. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.98: ‘Πλένιον ἐν Λίλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπήγετο καὶ ἐτέρας ἐβιάζετο.’
75. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.98: Appian notes Taurus brought with him ‘only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter’.
76. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.98.
77. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.99.
78. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.100.
79. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.99.
80. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.101.
81. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.100.
82. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.101. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.113 writes, ‘This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems fitting to recall this fact in honour of Roman magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him

as his commander.’

83. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.101.

84. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.102.

85. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.103.

86. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.104.

87. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.105.

88. The First Punic War ended here in 241 BCE: C. Lutatius Catulus defeated the Carthaginian fleet and a treaty was signed between them which saw Sicily handed over to the Romans.

89. Dio 49.2.3.

90. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.105.

91. This may be a copyist’s mistake for Demochares. The preceding section states that Demochares was in Agrippa’s front, and Dio 49.2.1–4 informs us that the battle that took place here was between Agrippa and Demochares. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 16 adds the name of Apollophanes.

92. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.106: ‘Αγρίππας δ’ ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπίᾳ μόνῳ ναυμαχήσων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλεονὶ ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἦγε κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν: ἐσκεύαστο δ’ ἀμφοτέροις πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον κατὰ τε πρῶραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἱ τε παρακελεύσεις, οἷας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγέννητο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἦρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ’ ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σὺν τε βοῇ καὶ ῥοθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπήϊω μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ περίπλους, καίσαρι δὲ μείζω καὶ βαρύτερα καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαιότερα δὲ ὅμως ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι: καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέκτου, καὶ ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἢ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἢ κώπας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἐβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἥσσονα: οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ κατέσειον ἢ διερρήγνυνον καί, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἐβαλλόν τε ὡς ταπεινότερας ἀφ’ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ κόρακας ἢ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθεῖεν, ἐξήλλαντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικά τοῦ Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν.’ Cf. Dio 49.3.1–3.

93. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.107: ‘ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἔτετο μάλιστα εὐθὺ τοῦ Παπίου καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοῖλα ἀνέρρηξεν: ἡ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσεύαστο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμῖαι πάντες ἀτελήφθησαν, οἱ δ’ ἕτεροι τὸ κατὰστρωμα ἀναρρήξαντες ἐξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρορμοῦσαν ἀναληφθεὶς αὐθις ἐπήγει τοῖς πολεμίοις.’

94. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.107: ‘καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ὅρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελοῦσας καὶ ψιλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, Ἀγρίππᾳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐσήμνηε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ

ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες αἰεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. Ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπιβαρῆσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐς τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.'

95. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.108: 'καὶ Ἀγρίππας, καλυόντων αὐτὸν τῶν κυβερνητῶν μεγάλαις ναυσὶν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φύλων δ' αὐτῷ παραινούντων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν πολυχέϊμωνι θαλάσσῃ, μόλις ἐσπέρας ἀνεξεύγνυε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ ἐς τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάψαντες ἄλλα ἱκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικαύταις ναυσὶν ἀντέσχον, τειχομαχῆσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν ἢ ναυμαχῆσαι καὶ ὡς νενικηκότας ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπῆλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν κουφοτέρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.'

96. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 16.2: '*ne rectis quidem oculis eum aspicere potuisse instructam aciem, verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse, nec prius surrexisse ac militibus in conspectum venisse quam a M. Agrippa fugatae sint hostium naves.*'

97. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.109: 'τὸν δὲ Καῖσαρ ὁ Πομπήϊος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομένιῳ, μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπὼν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν, ἐς ὅσον ἡπείγην, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει· καὶ παρῆλθε μὲν εἰσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἐξεώσθη. προσεχώρησαν δ' ἕτεραι πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἰεράν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη μὲν ἐς Λευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν ἔτι ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν· ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας ἔμελλε νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομένιον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνων μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νενικηκῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιοῦσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πάντως ἡγεῖτο Πομπήϊον Ἀγρίππᾳ παραμένειν. κατασκεψάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπὼν, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες ἐπανεέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον προσέπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαξόμενος αὐτό, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίῳ τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου'. Appian adds the final comment to explain that "the Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.'

98. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.110: 'τέλη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱπτεές χωρὶς ἵππων πεντακόσιοι καὶ κοῦφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι σύμμαχοι χωρὶς καταλόγου διοχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτοις.'

99. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.111: 'τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ πάντα Κορνιφικῷ παραδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πρᾶσσειν, ὃ τι

ἐπείγοι.’

100. Lipara was one of the Aeolian islands located north of Hieria, where Agrippa was stationed.
101. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.113.
102. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.114.
103. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.115; Dio 49.6–7.
104. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.116: ‘Τυνδαρίδα ... τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχον’.
105. Cic., *In Verrem* 3.43.
106. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.115.
107. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.116.
108. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.116: ‘αἱ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ἀγρίππου πῦρ διηνεκὲς ἔκαιον ὡς ἐμπρήσοντες τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας’.
109. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.116–117.
110. Dio 49.8.5.
111. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.117.
112. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.118.
113. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.119: ‘ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἐρετῶν ἄμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ’ ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγνυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ’ ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστ’ αἰ εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάζει τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργοτέραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαι τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι: καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικά τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνη κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἄρπαξ, ἕκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλωδίων ἐφέλκοιτο ὅπισω: κοπήναι τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὐπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μήκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτουσι τὰ καλώδια ἐποίει: οὐδὲ τὸ μηχανήμα πω προέγνωστο, ὡς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι: ἐν δ’ ἐπενόουν ὡς ἐν ἀδοκίῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντων καὶ τῶν πολέμιων ἴση μὲν ἦν ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.’
114. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.120: ‘ὅτε μὲν οὖν προσελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθήλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁμοίως εὐπορον: ὅπλοις τε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῆ, τὰ τε συνθήματα μινυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξενήνεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντας ἀλλήλων ἐπεῖχεν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσῃ γεμούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα πείραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ: τούτου δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἐκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφεώρων, ὡς ἐν τῇδε καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διέκρινόν γε μὴν οὐδέν, οὐδ’ ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες, οἷα

νεῶν ἑξακοσίων ἐπὶ μῆκιστον ἔκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκατέρωθεν.’

115. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.121: ‘μόλις δέ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναις διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεῖς πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὡς ἤδη κατορθοῦντας; καὶ τοῖς πολεμίσις αὖθις ἐμπεσὼν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ’ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τοὺς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἑπτακαίδεκα νῆες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, αἱ μὲν ἐξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ ὀρμιζόμενας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνἐπιμπρασιν: ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γιγνόμενα κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδουσιν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίσις. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἡλόαζεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ’ ἀνῶμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Ναυλόχων ἀναθορών ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἠπείγετο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ’ ἐπισκίψας: ὅθεν καὶ τούσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισσηνοῦ παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἱπάρχων παραδιδόντων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες Καίσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέχθησαν ἢ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὀκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν: αἱ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα μόναι διέφυγον.’

116. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.122; Dio 49.11.1.

117. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.127.

118. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.123.

119. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.124–125.

120. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.126; Dio 49.11.2–12.4; Velleius 2.80; Livy, *Per.* 129; Orosius 6.18.30–32.

121. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.127.

122. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.128.

123. Horace, *Epistulae* 1.12.1. Reinhold (1933), p. 42, note 100 notes the example of Iccius, an estate manager – *procurator Agrippae in Sicilia* – is called a friend of Horace by the scholiasts of the poet, as well as the presence of several ‘Vipsanii’, likely all freedmen from inscriptions found at Catania.

124. Livy, *Per.* 129. Maxfield (1981), pp. 74-76 points out that Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 22.4 claims the *corona navalis* was awarded to M. Varro by Pompeius Magnus for success over the pirates in 67 BCE and concluded that ‘Varro must be regarded as a serious candidate for the distinction’ as well as Agrippa.

125. Ver., *Aen.* 8.683–684: ‘*arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum, | tempora nauali fulgent rostrata corona.*’

126. Dio 49.14.3; Livy *Per.* 129; Seneca *De Beneficiis* 3.32.4; Vel. Pat. 2.81.3; Ver., *Aen.* 8.683–684; Ov., *Ars Amatoria* 3.392; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 16.7–8: ‘*itemque M. Agrippa tribuente Caesare e Siculis, quae et ipsa piratica fuere ... dedit hanc Augustus coronam Agrippae, sed civicam a genere humano accepit ipse.*’

127. See Sources: 2. Coins. E.g. *BMCRE* I 110, I 103, I 121.

128. Dio 49.36.1: ‘ἐπὶ Παννονίους ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἡδίκητό τι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν’, ἵνα δὲ δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας

ἀσκή τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν τρέφῃ, πᾶν τὸ τῷ κρείττονι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀρέσκον δίκαιον ἐς τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ποιούμενος.’ This contradicts Suet., *Div. Aug.* 21.2 who writes that he would not make war ‘*sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum*’, without just cause.

129. App., *Ill.* 22: ‘διὸ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῆς ἔχρηζεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταμειῷ χρησόμενος ἐς τὸν Δακῶν καὶ Βαστερνῶν πόλεμον, οἱ πέραν εἰσὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου, λεγομένου μὲν ἐνταῦθα Δανουβίου, γιγνομένου δὲ μετ’ ὀλίγον Ἰστρου.’
130. Iulius Caesar’s army took this sea crossing in 48 BCE; his impatience at the speed of its progress, leading to a rare example of his humbling by the ferocious waves of the Adriatic Sea, is recorded by Valerius Maximus, 9.8.2. Aquileia had been subject to attacks by the Pannnoni over the previous two decades prior to 35 BCE according to App., *Ill.* 18.
131. Florus 2. 23. App., *Ill.* 16. During the Illyrian Wars of 229 BC, 219 BC and 168 BC, the Romans attacked the coastal bases and eradicated the pirates.
132. App., *Ill.* 6. Later Roman writers, Dio among them, differentiate between Dalmatia and Pannonia, which were the names given to the two provinces created out of the larger when it was split. For a discussion, see Dzino (2008).
133. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.26; Florus 2.25. In modern terms, it would cover parts of Albania, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro.
134. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.28; Florus 2.24. In today’s terms, it would cover parts of Austria, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.
135. Mallory (1989), pp. 73–76; Wilkes (1992), pp. 203–5.
136. For a discussion of the scope of the war, see Vulić (1934).
137. App., *Ill.* 16; Dio 49.35.1.
138. App., *Ill.* 18; Strab., *Geog.* 7.5.4.
139. Dio 49.35.1, 49.38.3–4.
140. App., *Ill.* 16.
141. Dio 49.35.1.
142. App., *Ill.* 18.
143. App., *Ill.* 19.
144. Dio 49.35.2 mentions many siege engines were destroyed.
145. App., *Ill.* 20.
146. App., *Ill.* 20.
147. App., *Ill.* 20: ‘συνέθεον δ’ αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀγρίππας τε καὶ Τέρων καὶ ὁ σωματοφύλαξ Λοῦτος καὶ Οὐόλας, τέσσαρες οἶδε μόνοι, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὀλίγοι. ἤδη δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυραν περῶντος, ἐν αἰδοῖ γενόμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀνεπήδησεν ἄθρους. καὶ πάλιν ἡ γέφυρα βαρηθεῖσα καταπίπτει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἄθροοι κατεχώννυντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συντριβέντες ἐφέροντο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπλήγη μὲν τὸ σκέλος τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἄμφω.’
148. App., *Ill.* 21.
149. App., *Ill.* 21; Dio 49.37.1–4.
150. Dio 49.38.3.
151. App., *Ill.* 22: ‘οὐπω Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ τῆσδε ὑπηκόου γενομένης. ὑλώδης δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ Παιόνων, καὶ ἐπιμήκης ἐξ Ἰαπύδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους. καὶ οὐ πόλεις

ὥκουν οἱ Παῖονες οἶδε, ἀλλ' ἄγρους ἢ κώμας κατὰ συγγένειαν: οὐδ' ἐς
βουλευτήρια κοινὰ συνήεσαν, οὐδ' ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.'

152. App., *Ill.* 22.

153. Dio 49.37.1.

154. Dio 49.37.2.

155. Dio 49.37.3–4; Strab., 4.6.10, 7.5.2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.148.

156. Dio 49.37.5.

157. The theory is advanced by Dušcanić (2008).

158. Dio 49.38.1.

159. Dio 49.38.2.

160. Dio 49.38.3–4.

161. Dio 49.38.1.

162. Dio 49.38.3: 'ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς Δελμάτας πρότερος μὲν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἔπειτα δὲ
καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεστράτευσεν.'

163. App., *Ill.* 25.

164. App., *Ill.* 25: 'καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαχμώτατοι μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πλείους, ὧν
στρατηγὸν Οὐέρσον αἰροῦνται. ὁ δὲ Πρωμόναν αὖθις, τὴν τῶν Λιβυρνῶν
πόλιν, καταλαβὼν ὡχύρου, καὶ τᾶλλα οὖσαν ἐκφυῶς ὀχυρωτάτην: ὄρειον
γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ αὐτῷ περικεῖνται λόφοι πάντοθεν ὀξεῖς οἷα πρίονες.
ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλεόν ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόφοις διέθηκεν Οὐέρσος
φρουρία: καὶ πάντες ἐφεώρων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὸ
φανερὸν πάντας ἀπετείχιζε, λάθρα δὲ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπεμπε ζητεῖν
ἄνοδον ἐς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῶν λόφων. καὶ οἱ μὲν, τῆς ὕλης αὐτοῦς
ἐπικαλυπτούσης, νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτουσι τοῖς φύλαξιν εὐναζομένοις, καὶ
κτείνουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι κατέσεισαν ὑπὸ λύγῃ: ὁ δὲ τῆς τε πόλεως
ἐς πεῖραν ἦει τῷ πλεόνι στρατῷ, καὶ ἐς τὸ εἰλημμένον ἄκρον ἐτέρους ἐφ'
ἐτέροις ἐπεμπε, οἱ τοῖς ἄλλοις λόφοις ἐπικατήεσαν. φόβος τε καὶ θόρυβος
ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρουμένοις πάντοθεν: μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐν
τοῖς λόφοις ἔδεισαν διὰ τὸ ἄνυδρον, μὴ τῶν διόδων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. καὶ
συμφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν Πρωμόναν.'

165. App., *Ill.* 26.

166. App., *Ill.* 26; Dio 49.38.4.

167. App., *Ill.* 27.

168. Dio 49.38.4.

169. App., *Ill.* 29.

170. App., *Ill.* 28: 'οὕτω πᾶσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα γῆν, ὅση τε ἀφειστήκει
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν οὐ πρότερον ὑπακούσασαν αὐτοῖς, ἐκρατύνατο.'

171. Dio 54.32.1.

172. Favro (1992).

173. Z. Yavetz, 'The Living Conditions of the Urban Plebs in Republican Rome',
Latomus 17 (1958), pp. 500–517.

174. Cic., *Leg.* 3.3.7.

175. Dio 49.42.2.

176. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.121.

177. Frontin., 1.9: 'paene dilapsos'.

178. Dio 49.42.2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 31.41; Frontin., 1.9.
179. Frontin., 1.9.
180. Frontin., 104: 'Quod Q. Aelius Tubero Paulus Fabius Maximus cos. V.F. de numero publicorum salientium qui in urbe essent intraque aedificia urbi coniuncta, quos M. Agrippa fecisset, Q. F. P. D. E. R. I. C. neque augeri placere nec minui numerum publicorum salientium, quos nunc esse rettulerunt ei, quibus negotium a senatu est imperatum ut inspicerent aquas publicas inirentque numerum salientium publicorum. Itemque placere curatores aquarum, quos Caesar Augustus ex senatus auctoritate nominavit, dare operam ut salientes publici quam adsiduissime interdiu et noctu aquam in usum populi funderent.' The Acqua Felice dating from 1586, which still carries water, runs along stretches of the ancient Aqua Marcia.
181. Frontin., 1.9–10; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.121.
182. Frontin., 1.9: 'Post ***Agrippa aedilis post primum consulatum imperatore Caesare Augusto II L. Volcatio cos., anno post urbem conditam septingentesimo nono decimo ad miliarium ab urbe duodecimum Via Latina deverticulo euntibus ab Roma dextrorsus milium passuum duum alterius aquae proprias vires collegit et Tepulae rivum interceptit. Adquisitae aquae ab inventore nomen Iuliae datum est, ita tamen divisa erogatione, ut maneret Tepulae appellatio.'
183. Dio 48.32.3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.121; Frontin., 1.9–10.
184. Frontin., 1.9: 'Ductus Iuliae efficit longitudinem passuum quindecim milium quadringentorum viginti sex S.: opere supra terram passuum septem milium: ex eo in proximis urbem locis a septimo miliario substructione passuum quingentorum viginti octo, reliquo opere arcuato passuum sex milium quadringentorum septuaginta duum.'
185. Frontin., 1.9: 'Praeter caput Iuliae transfuit aqua quae vocatur Crabra. Hanc Agrippa omisit, seu quia improbaverat, sive quia Tusculanis possessoribus relinquendam credebat; ea namque est quam omnes villae tractus eius per vicem in dies modulosque certos dispensatam accipiunt.'
186. Frontin., 1.9: 'Sed non eadem moderatione aquarii nostri partem eius semper in supplementum Iuliae vindicaverunt, nec ut Iuliam augerent, quam hauriebant largiendo compendi sui gratia. Exclusi ergo Crabram et totam iussu imperatoris reddidi Tusculanis, qui nunc, forsitan non sine admratione, eam sumunt ignari cui causae insolitam abundantiam debeant. Iulia autem revocatis derivationibus, per quas surripiebatur, modum suum quamvis notabili siccitate servavit.'
187. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.24. Pliny the Elder often refers to the *Commentarii* of M. Agrippa, by which it is supposed he is referring to official lists drawn up by him recording measurements of the Roman world under Augustus, e.g. *Nat. Hist.* 3.30. On the evidence for bathing in the late Republic see Fagan (1993), pp. 98–142 (<http://hdl.handle.net/11375/6921>). Fagan translates the statement *et gratuita praebita balnea CLXX* as 'and offered 170 free baths', arguing that the reference does not explain how Agrippa administered the benefaction and that 'they were not necessarily provided in 170 separate buildings'. Further he states 'the phrase *gratuitum balneum* is a synonym for *gratuita lavatio*, or 'free bathing' a benefaction which might be restricted to a single building' (pp. 102–103). I highly doubt this is what Pliny meant since the number 170 makes no sense in this interpretation.

188. Cic., *Fam.* 14.20.1: *labrum si in balneo non est, ut sit; item cetera quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria*; also *Fam* 9.22.4.
189. Dio 49.43.2.
190. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.24.
191. Dio 49.43.1: 'ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν δι' αὐτῶν ὑπέπλευσε, τοὺς τε ὑπονόμους ἐξεκάθηρε'; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.24, where he states it is 'a work more stupendous than any; as mountains had to be pierced for their construction ... and navigation had to be carried on beneath Rome; an event which happened in the aedileship of M. Agrippa, after he had filled the office of consul.'
192. Dio 49.43.1: 'τῷ δ' ὑστέρω ἔτει ἀγορανόμος ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ οἰκοδομήματα τὰ κοινὰ πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λαβὼν, ἐπεσκεύασε, τοὺς τε ὑπονόμους ἐξεκάθηρε ...'.
193. Livy, *AUC* 1.56.
194. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 36.24: '*emendatis lacus dcc fecit, praeterea salientes d, castella cxxx, complura et cultu magnifica, operibus iis signa ccc aerea aut marmorea inposuit, columnas e marmore cccc, eaque omnia annuo spatio.*'
195. Dio 49.42.2.
196. Frontin., 1.98: '*Primus M. Agrippa post aedilitatem, quam gessit consularis, operum suorum et munerum velut perpetuus curator fuit. Qui iam copia permittente discripisit, quid aquarum publicis operibus, quid lacibus, quid privatis daretur. Habuit et familiam propriam aquarum, quae tueretur ductus atque castella et lacus.*'
197. Cic., *Leg.* 3.3.7: '*aediles curatores urbis.*'
198. Astrologers: Dio 49.43.5; olive oil: 49.43.2; barbers: 49.43.3.
199. *CIL* VI.9972, 10026: excavations conducted periodically since 1904 have revealed the remains of the largest warehouse. Its identification is confirmed by the discovery of an altar still *in situ* bearing an inscription recording the erection of the statue of the *Genius Horreorum Agrippianorum*. The part so far uncovered by archaeologists comprises a convex quadrilateral-shaped courtyard surrounded by rectangular rooms constructed of *opus quadratum* and decorated with engaged Corinthian columns, dating to the Augustan period.
200. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.24.
201. Balsdon (1969), pp. 314–324; Paoli (1963), pp. 251–252.
202. Dio 49.43.2: 'κάν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ σφαλλομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὸν τῶν διαύλων ἀριθμὸν ὁρῶν τοὺς τε δελφίνας καὶ τὰ ὠσειδῆ δημιουργήματα κατεστήσατο, ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι τῶν περιδρόμων ἀναδεικνύονται.'
203. Agrippa's games: Dio 49.43.3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.121; Iulius Caesar's games: according to Dio 43.24, in 46 BCE Caesar hosted elaborate games at the tomb of his daughter Iulia – who had died in childbirth eight years earlier – to celebrate victories in Gaul and Egypt. The entertainments included stage plays, gladiatorial combats and beast fights, including the first public display of a giraffe. The games were criticized for their extravagance and the numbers of victims slain, which allegedly included several of Caesar's own soldiers who had protested that none of the money was distributed to them.
204. Dio 49.43.4: 'ἵνα μηδεὶς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώσῃ. καὶ τέλος σύμβολά τέ τινα ἐς τὸ θέατρον κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔρριψε, τῷ μὲν ἀργύριον τῷ δὲ ἐσθῆτα τῷ δὲ ἄλλο

τι φέροντα, καὶ ἄλλα πάμπολλα ὦνια ἐς τὸ μέσον.’

205. Dio 49.43.5.

206. Horace, *Sermones* 2.3.185–186: ‘*in cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis, | latus ut in circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes, | nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis; | scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu, | astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem?*’

207. An alternative date is 31 December 32 BCE. Fergus Millar, ‘Triumvirate and Principate’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 63 (1973), p. 62, points out that the surviving evidence does not resolve unambiguously the question of when the powers of the Triumvirs expired, either in strict theory or in practice, citing Karl-Ernst Petzold, ‘Die Bedeutung des Jahres 32 für die Entstehung des Principats’, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 18.3 (Jun., 1969), p. 334.

Chapter 4: Mastermind of Victory at Actium

1. Nepos, *Atticus* 20.1 and 20.4.

2. Nepos, *Atticus* 20.5: ‘*cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romae, sed orbis terrarum esse cupere.*’

3. Plut., *Ant.* 61.1–2.

4. See Braund (1984), pp. 75–90.

5. Two good biographies of Herodes are the popular study by Perowne (1956) and, for a deeper, academic treatment, Richardson (1996).

6. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.14.3.

7. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.14.4. Richardson (1996), p.129 notes that Josephus records that Herodes intended to propose Aristobulus III, the 14/15 year old brother of Mariamme, as *ethnarch* and that Antonius expedited the decisions through the Senate.

8. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.15.1–18.4.

9. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.18.3.

10. App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.140–144; Dio 49.18.4–5; Vell. Pat. 2.79.5; Strab. 3.2, p. 141; Orosius 6.19.2; Livy, *Per.* 131; Eutropius 7.6.1; Plut., *Ant.* 87.2.

11. Dio 49.18.4–5; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.144. The right to a trial was the central argument in Cicero’s prosecution of Verres.

12. Plut., *Ant.* 75.1.

13. Plut., *Ant.* 37.3: Plut., *Ant.* 56.1 mentions sixteen legions later stationed in Armenia; cf. Livy, *Per.* 130 mentions eighteen legions and 16,000 cavalry.

14. Vell. Pat., 2.82.21. According to the Mehr News Agency the site was re-discovered during archaeological surveys near Zahak Castle in Hashtrud located in Iran’s northwestern province of East Azarbaijann in 2005.

15. Vell. Pat. 2.82.2; Plut., *Ant.* 38.2.

16. Antonios.’ disastrous campaign is described in detail in Plut., *Ant.* 38.1–49.4.

17. Livy, *Per.* 130.1.

18. Plut., *Ant.* 50.1: in 49.4 he notes ‘they fell sick with dropsies and dysenteries’. Livy, *Per.* 130.2 cites 8,000 men lost.

19. Plut., *Ant.* 53.1.

20. Plut., *Ant.* 53.2; Dio 49.33.3–4.

21. Plut., *Ant.* 36.2: ‘ἐλθοῦσῃ δὲ χαρίζεται καὶ προστίθῃσι μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ’

ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ Φοινίκην, κοίλην Συρίαν, Κύπρον, Κιλικίας πολλήν: ἔτι δὲ τῆς τε Ἰουδαίων τὴν τὸ βάλαμον φέρουσιν καὶ τῆς Ναβαταίων Ἀραβίας ὄση πρὸς τὴν ἐκτὸς ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν. αὐταὶ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασαν αἱ δωρεαί.'

22. Dio 49 Index, 49.39.1–2.

23. Dio 49.39.3–4.24.

24. Dio 49.39.5–6.

25. Vell. Pat. 2.82.4; Dio 49.40.3–4.

26. Dio 49.41.2–3; Plut., *Ant.* 54.3.

27. Plut., *Ant.* 36.3: 'οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἔλεγε τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας οὐ δι' ὧν λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς χαρίζονται φαίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος: διαδοχαῖς δὲ καὶ τεκνώσει πολλῶν βασιλέων πλατύνεσθαι τὰς εὐγενείας.'

28. Plut., *Ant.* 36.4: 'οὕτω γοῦν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους τεκνωθῆναι τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ γαστρὶ θεμένου τὴν διαδοχὴν οὐδὲ νόμους Σολωνείους καὶ κυήσεως εὐθύνας δεδοϊκότος, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει πολλὰς γενῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ καταβολὰς ἀπολιπεῖν ἐφίεντος.'

29. Plut., *Ant.* 54.3, 54.5–6.

30. Plut., *Ant.* 54.4.

31. Plut., *Ant.* 36.2.

32. Plut., *Ant.* 54.3: 'ἐμισήθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν διανέμησιν ἣν ἐποιήσατο τοῖς τέκνοις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τραγικὴν καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ μισορρώμιον φανείσαν.'

33. Dio 49.41.5.

34. Plut., *Ant.* 55.1–2.

35. Plut., *Ant.* 55.2: 'πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἀπελογεῖτο Λέπιδον μὲν ὑβρίζοντα καταπαῦσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἃ δὲ ἔσχηκε πολεμήσας, νεμήσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὅταν κάκεῖνος Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν: τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις Ἰταλίας μὴ μετεῖναι: Μηδίαν γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ Παρθίαν αὐτούς, ἃς προσεκτήσαντο Ῥωμαίοις καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.'

36. Dio 49.44.1.

37. Dio 49.44.2.

38. Dio 49.44.3–4.

39. Plut., *Ant.* 56.1.

40. Plut., *Ant.* 56.1: 'αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Ἐφρεσον ἦκε. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκεῖ συνήει πανταχόθεν, ὀκτακόσαιο σὺν ὀλκάσι νῆες, ὧν Κλεοπάτρα παρείχε διακοσίας καὶ τάλαντα δισμύρια καὶ τροφὴν τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.'

41. Plut., *Ant.* 58.1.

42. Plut., *Ant.* 58.2: 'ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμαρτήμασιν Ἀντωνίου τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου τίθενται. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευάσασθαι χρόνον ἔδωκε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰς παραχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξέλυσε. πραττόμενοι γὰρ ἡγριαίνοντο, πραχθέντες δὲ καὶ δόντες ἡσύχαζον.'

43. Vell. Pat. 2.83.2. Titius: In 40 BCE he was captured in Gallia Narbonensis by Menodorus, one of Sex. Pompeius deputies, but was pardoned for his father's sake: Dio 48.30.5; App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.142. Plancus: uncle of Titius, Munatius

Plancus had been a loyal deputy of Julius Caesar during the Gallic War and was proconsul of Gallia Comata – founding Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum – at the time of the assassination, whereafter he shifted his allegiance to Antonius, and was made proconsul of Asia and Syria.

44. Plut., *Ant.* 58.3–6.

45. Plut., *Ant.* 58.4.

46. Florus 2.21.2: ‘*captus amore Cleopatrae.*’

47. Dio 50.1.3.

48. Dio 50.1.4.

49. Dio 50.1.5.

50. Dio 50.2.3.

51. Dio 50.2.4.

52. Dio 50.2.5.

53. Dio 50.2.5–6.

54. Dio 50.2.5–7.

55. Vell. Pat. 2.84.2.

56. Cinna: son of the man of the same name who supported C. Marius, when Julius Caesar became *dictator*, Cinna was promoted to *praetor*. He disapproved of Caesar’s authoritarianism but did not join the conspiracy to assassinate him. Messalla: In 43 BCE he was proscribed, but escaped to the camp of Brutus and Cassius. After the Battle of Philippi he defected to Antonius, but later switched his support to Caesar.

57. Dio 49.44.4.

58. Plut., *Ant.* 57.2–3; Dio 50.3.2; cf. Livy, *Per.* 132; Orosius 6.19.4.

59. Plut., *Ant.* 57.3: ‘κλαίουσαν δὲ καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν εἰ δόξει μία τῶν αἰτιῶν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ αὐτὴ γεγονέναι.’

60. Plut., *Ant.* 57.3: ‘Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ὥκτειρον οὐκ ἐκείνην, ἀλλ’ Ἀντώνιον, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κλεοπάτραν ἑωρακότες οὔτε κάλλει τῆς Ὀκταουίας οὔτε ὥρα διαφέρουσιν.’

61. Plut., *Ant.* 58.2.

62. Plut., *Ant.* 60.1: ‘ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο Καῖσαρ ἱκανῶς, ψηφίζεται Κλεοπάτρα πολεμεῖν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιον ἧς ἐξέστη γυναικί ’; cf. Dio 50.4.3–4.

63. Plut., *Ant.* 60.1: ‘ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο Καῖσαρ ἱκανῶς, ψηφίζεται Κλεοπάτρα πολεμεῖν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιον ἧς ἐξέστη γυναικί καὶ προσεπέειπε Καῖσαρ ὡς Ἀντώνιος μὲν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοίη, πολεμοῦσι δ’ αὐτοῖς Μαρδίων ὁ εὐνοῦχος καὶ Ποθεινὸς καὶ Εἰρὰς ἡ Κλεοπάτρας κουρεύτρια καὶ Χάρμιον, ὅφ’ ὧν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖται τῆς ἡγεμονίας.’

64. Florus 2.21.2.

65. Dio 50.4.5.

66. Dio 50.4.5: ‘ἄπερ που λόγῳ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔτεινεν.’

67. RG 25.2.

68. Nepos, *Atticus* 21.1.

69. Nepos, Atticus 21.2–3: ‘*subito tanta vis morbi in inum intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore per lumbos fistulae puris eruperint.*’
70. Nepos, Atticus 21.4.
71. Nepos, Atticus 22.1–2: ‘*Hac oratione habita tanta constantia vocis atque vultus, ut non ex vita, sed ex domo in domum videretur migrare, cum quidem Agrippa eum flens atque osculans oraret atque obsecraret, ne id quod natura cogeret ipse quoque sibi acceleraret, et, quoniam tum quoque posset temporibus superesse, se sibi suisque reservaret, preces eius taciturna sua obstinatione depressit.*’
72. Nepos, Atticus 22.3.
73. Nepos, Atticus 22.4: ‘*Elatus est in lecticula, ut ipse praescripserat, sine ulla pompa funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maxima vulgi frequentia.*’
74. Dio 50.9.2–3, 50.14.1.
75. Dio 50.9.2.
76. Dio 50.9.2–3.
77. Orosius 6.19.7: ‘*inde Corcyram cepit; fugientes navali proelio persecutus profligavit multisque rebus cruentissime gestis ad Caesarem venit.*’
78. Orosius 6.19.6.
79. Dio 50.11.3; Orosius 6.19.6.
80. Dio 50.11.3 = Zonar. 10.29.
81. Dio 50.11.5; 50.88.2.
82. Dio 50.11.1; Plut., Ant. 62.2.
83. Dio 50.11.2–6.
84. Dio 50.11.4–50.12.36.
85. Dio 50.14.1–2: ‘*κάν τούτῳ ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Σόσσιος Λουκίου Ταρρίου ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις ἐφορμοῦντός σφισιν ἐλπίσας ἄξιόν τι λόγου πράξειν, ἂν πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ᾧ πᾶν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπετέτραπτο, ἐπελθεῖν, συμβάλλῃ αὐτῷ, ἐξανήχθη τε ἐξαπινάϊως ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω, ὁμίχλην βαθεῖαν τηρήσας ἵνα μὴ τὸ πλῆθος σφῶν προΐδῶν φύγῃ, καὶ παραχρῆμα τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξε μέν, οὐχ εἴλε δέ: τοῦ γὰρ Ἀγρίππου κατὰ τύχην ἀπαντήσαντός οἱ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τῆς νίκης ἀπώνητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιεφθάρη μετὰ τε τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων πολλῶν.*’ The individuals mentioned in the extract are L. Tarius Rufus (one of Caesar’s men), C. Sosius (an early ally of Antonius) and Tarcondimotus (king of Cilicia).
86. Nepos, Atticus 21–22; Dio 50.12.1.
87. Dio 50.12.1.
88. Dio 50.12.7.
89. Dio 50.12.8.
90. Dio 50.12.8: ‘*ταῦτ’ οὖν προκατασχόντες οἱ Ἀντωνίειοι ἐπὶ τε τοῦ στόματος πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπωκοδόμησαν καὶ τὸ μέσον ναυσὶ διέλαβον, ὥστε σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἔκπλους καὶ τὰς ἀναχωρήσεις ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι: αὐτοὶ τε ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ 1 πορθμοῦ κατὰ τὸ ? ἐρόν, ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ μὲν καὶ πλατεῖ, ἐμμαχέσασθαι δὲ ἢ ἐνοστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτηδειοτέρῳ, ἐνηυλίζοντο: ἐξ οὐπὲρ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ νόσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, καὶ ἐν τῷ θέρει πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπέσθησαν*; cf. 50.15.3.
91. Vell. Pat. 2.84.1.

92. Plut., *Ant.* 67.7 and 68.4–5. The Greek communities were pressed into providing provisions and materiel for Antonius under increasing cruelty. Among them was Plutarch's own father.
93. Dio 50.10.1.
94. Dio 50.12.4: 'καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ μετεώρου, ὅθεν ἐπὶ πάντα ὁμοίως τῆς τε ἔξω τῆς πρὸς Πάξοις θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς εἰς 1 τῆς Ἀμπρακικῆς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτῶν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ λιμένες οἱ πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει εἰσὶν, ἀποπτόν ἐστιν, ιδρύθῃ' – the islands he refers to are Paxos and Antipaxos. Cf. Florus 2.21.11.4, Livy, *Per.* 132.2.
95. Dio 50.12.4.
96. Dio 50.12.5: 'κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐφῆδρευε καὶ ἐφώρμει τῷ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ἤδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ τριήρεις ἐκ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τοῦ τειχίσματος ὑπερήνεγκε, βύρσαις νεοδάρτοις ἀντὶ ὀλκῶν ἐλαίῳ ἐπαληλυμέναις'.
97. Vell. Pat. 2.84.1.
98. Dio 50.13.4.
99. Plut., *Ant.* 63.2.
100. Dio 50.13.4.
101. Dio 50.13.5.
102. Dio 50.13.5: 'Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν τε Λευκάδα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σκάφη αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσπλεύσας ἔλαβε.'
103. Vell. Pat. 2.84.2: '*Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianae classis per M. Agrippam Leucas expugnata, Patrae captae, Corinthus occupata, bis ante ultimum discrimen classis hostium superata*'; Dio 50.13.5.
104. Dio 50.13.2–3: 'καὶ ἦλθε μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα εὐθὺς κατέστη, καίτοι ἐκείνου τὸν τε πεζὸν πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν συνεχῶς προπαράτασσαντος καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πολλάκις σφίσιν ἐπιπλέοντος, τάς τε ὀλκάδας αὐτῶν κατὰγοντος, ὅπως πρὶν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, μόνοις τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν οἱ συμμίξῃ.'
105. Orosius 6.19.7: '*Antonius defectu et fame militum suorum permotus bellum maturare instituit ac repente instructis copiis ad Caesaris castra processit et uictus est.*'
106. Orosius 6.19.8; Dio 50.14.3.
107. Dio 50.15.1.
108. Dio 50.13.6, 50.15.3.
109. Dio 50.13.6 and 8; Plut., *Ant.* 63.2; Vell. Pat. 2.84.2.
110. Plut., *Ant.* 40.5.
111. Dio 50.11.1: 'τοιούτων δὴ σημείων προφανέντων σφίσιν οὔτε ἐφοβήθησαν οὐθ' ἥττον τι ἐπολέμησαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα κατασκοπαῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ παραλυποῦντες ἀλλήλους διετέλεσαν.'
112. Dio 50.31.1.
113. Dio 50.31.2.
114. Lange (2011), p. 208 n. 1, p. 209 n. 5 and 6 puts Vell. Pat., Plutarch, Florus, Ostorius, Ferrabino (1924), Tarn (1938) and Syme (1939) in this camp.
115. Lange (2011), p. 208 n. 3 puts Dio, Kromayer (1899), Gilles, Leake (1835),

- Merivale and Gravière (1885), Richardson (1937), Carter (1970), Grant (1972) and Kienast (1999) in this camp.
116. Lange (2011), p. 201 n. 14, cites Pelling (1988).
 117. Dio 50.15.1.
 118. Plut., *Ant.* 63.3–5; cf. 56.2.
 119. Plut., *Ant.* 64.2; Dio 50.15.4 and 50.31.2; cf. Tarn (1931), pp. 188–9 n. 4.
 120. Dio 50.31.2; Plut., *Ant.* 65.1.
 121. Vell. Pat. 2.85.1: *‘Advenit deinde maximi discriminis dies, quo Caesar Antoniusque productis classibus pro salute alter, in ruinam alter terrarum orbis dimicavere.’*
 122. Lange (2011), p. 617; Plut., *Ant.* 61.1–2; Vell. Pat. 2.84.1–2. Dio 50.16.2 mentions Antonius’ army comprised of hoplites, cavalry, slingers, peltasts, archers and mounted archers. Plut., *Ant.* 61.1–2 also lists the client kingdoms arrayed with him: ‘Of subject kings who fought with him, there were Bocchus the king of Libya, Tarcondemus the king of Upper Cilicia, Archelaüs of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace. These were with him, while from Pontus Polemon sent an army, and Malchus from Arabia, and Herod the Jew, besides Amyntas the king of Lycaonia and Galatia; the king of the Medes also sent an auxiliary force.’
 123. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.19.1–6.
 124. Vell. Pat. 2.85.2.
 125. Plut., *Ant.* 61.1–2: he also states Caesar commanded 80,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry.
 126. Orosius 6.19.8: *‘navali proelio discernere paratus. ducentae triginta rostratae fuere Caesaris naves et triginta sine rostris, triremes velocitate Liburnicis pares et octo legiones classi superpositae, absque cohortibus quinque praetoriis. classis Antonii centum septuaginta navium fuit.’*
 127. Florus 2.21.5.
 128. Florus 2.21.6: *‘Caesaris naves a bini remigum in senos nec amplius ordines creverant; itaque habites in omnia quae usus posceret, ad impetus et recursus flexusque capiendos, illas gravis et ad omnia praepeditas singulas plures adortae missilibus, simul rostris, ad hoc ignibus iactis ad arbitrium dissipavere.’*
 129. See [Chapter 3](#), n. 41–42.
 130. Dio 50.23.2, 50.18.4 inferred.
 131. Orosius 6.19.8; Plut., *Ant.* 65.1; Dio 50.31.3.
 132. Dio 50.31.3.
 133. Dio 50.23.2.
 134. Dio 50.18.4–6 has Antonius dismissing Agrippa’s fleet, putting into his mouth the words ‘so great is the difference between us two; but, as a rule, it is those who have the better equipment that secure the victories’.
 135. Plut., *Ant.* 61.1: *‘ἐν αἷς ὀκτῆρεις πολλαὶ καὶ δεκῆρεις κεκοσμημέναι σοβαρῶς καὶ πανηγυρικῶς’*. Florus 2.21.3: *‘Aureum in manu baculum, ad latus acinaces, purpurea vestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis.’*
 136. Florus 2.21.5–6: *‘sed numerum magnitudo pensabat. Quippe a sensis novenos remorum ordines, ad hoc turribus atque tabulatis adlevatae castellorum vel urbium specie, non sine gemitu maris et labore ventorum ferebatur; quae quidem ipsa moles*

exitio fuit.

137. Orosius 6.19.9: ‘*navium ... nam decem pedum altitudine a mari aberrant.*’ A Roman foot is believed to be 0.967 modern Imperial feet, or 294.7mm.
138. Dio 50.23.3: ‘καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ πύργους τε ὑψηλοὺς ἐπικατεσκεύασε καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐπανεβίβασεν, ὥστε καθάπερ ἀπὸ τειχῶν αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι.’
139. Orosius 6.19.8; Dio 50.31.3.
140. Plut., *Ant.* 64.2: ‘λέγων ὅτι δεῖ μὴδὲνα φεύγοντα τῶν πολέμιων διαφυγεῖν.’
141. Plut., *Ant.* 61.1.
142. Florus 2.21.5: ‘*ducentae non minus hostium*’; Orosius 6.19.9: ‘*classis Antonii centum septuaginta navium fuit*’.
143. Plut., *Ant.* 64.1; Orosius 6.19.6–9; Dio 50.15.4, 50.12.1.
144. Dio 50.14.1–2, 50.31.2.
145. See the careful analysis of Lange (2011), pp. 612–615.
146. Dio 50.31.4; Plut., *Ant.* 65.4.
147. Vell. Pat. 2.85.2, Dio 15.19.1.
148. Plut., *Ant.* 65.3.
149. Plut., *Ant.* 65.3; Dio 50.31.4.
150. Vell. Pat. 2.85.2, Dio 15.19.1.
151. Dio 50.31.4.
152. Orosius 6.19.x.
153. Plut., *Ant.* 65.4. Romans measured time as hours after sunrise. Sunrise in Athens on 2 September is 6.56am.
154. Vell. Pat. 2.85.2.
155. Plut., *Ant.* 66.3; Florus 2.21.8: ‘*Prima dux fugae regina cum aurea puppe veloque purpureo in altum dedit.*’
156. Dio 50.31.4.
157. Dio 50. Plut., *Ant.* 65.4.
158. Plut., *Ant.* 65.4.
159. Dio 50.31.5.
160. Dio 50.31.6. Carter (1970), p. 217–218 argues Antonius arrayed his fleet in two lines.
161. Carter (1970), p. 218.
162. Iapyx: Ver., *Aen.* 8.710: ‘*fecerat ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri.*’
163. Orosius 6.19.10: ‘*ab hora quinta usque in horam septimam incerta uincendi spe grauissimae utrimque caedes actae.*’
164. Plut., *Ant.* 66.1–2: ‘ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι, ἐμβολαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἀναρρήξεις νεῶν, τῶν μὲν Ἀττωνίου διὰ βάρος ῥύμην οὐκ ἔχουσῶν, ἣ μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὰς τῶν ἐμβόλων πληγὰς ἐνεργούς, τῶν δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ μόνον ἀντιπρώρων συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκῶματα στερεὰ καὶ τραχέα φυλασσομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐμβολὰς διδόναι θαρρουσῶν. ἀπεθραύοντο γὰρ τὰ ἐμβολα ῥαδίως ἢ προσπέσειε σκάφεισι τετραγώνων ξύλων μεγάλων σιδήρῳ συνηρμοσμένων πρὸς ἄλληλα δεδεμένοις. ἦν οὖν πεζομαχία προσφερῆς ὁ ἀγών: τὸ δὲ ἀλθρότερον εἶπεῖν, τειχομαχία. τρεῖς γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τέσσαρες περὶ μίαν τῶν Ἀττωνίου συνείχοντο, γέροις καὶ δόρασι καὶ κοντοῖς χρωμένων καὶ πυροβόλοις: οἱ δὲ Ἀττωνίου καὶ

καταπέλταις ἀπὸ ξυλίνων πυργῶν ἔβαλλον.’

165. Dio 50.32.1–8.

166. Dio 50.32.7: ‘ἐδύναντο, αἱ δὲ ἔπασχον. ἐπονοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἔκαμνον τοῖς μὲν οἷ τε κυβερνῆται καὶ οἱ ἐρέται μάλιστα, τοῖς δὲ οἱ ἐπιβάται: καὶ ἐψέκασαν οἱ μὲν ἵππεῦσι τοτὲ μὲν ἐπελαύνουσι τοτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦσι διὰ τὸ τοὺς τε ἐπίπλους καὶ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίταις τοὺς τε πλησιάζοντάς σφισι φυλασσομένοις καὶ κατέχειν αὐτούς.’

167. Plut., *Ant.* 66.3.

168. Carter (1970), p. 222–223, argues breaking a hole in Agrippa’s line was Antonius’ battle plan from the start.

169. Dio 50.33.1–3; Plut., *Ant.* 66.3–4. The sixty ships which escaped represented 35 per cent of his fleet – no mean achievement under the circumstances.

170. Dio 50.33.3; Plut., 66.5; Vell. Pat. 2.85.3; Florus 2.21.9.

171. Plut., *Ant.* 67.1.
172. Plut., *Ant.* 67.2: 'έν τούτῳ δέ λιβυρνίδες ὥφθησαν διώκουσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος: ὁ δέ ἀντίπρωρον ἐπιστρέφειν τήν ναῦν κελεύσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνέστειλεν.'
173. Plut., *Ant.* 67.2–3: 'Εὐρυκλῆς δ' ὁ Λάκων ἐνέκειτο σοβαρῶς, λόγχην τινὰ κραδαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὡς ἀφήσων ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἐπιστάντος δέ τῃ πρῶρᾳ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καί 'τίς οὗτος,' εἰπόντος, 'ὁ διώκων Ἀντώνιον;' 'ἐγώ,' εἶπεν, 'Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ Λαχάρους, τῇ Καίσαρος τύχῃ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδικῶν θάνατον.' ὁ δὲ Λαχάρης ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου ληστείας αἰτία περιπεσὼν ἐπελεκίσθη. πλὴν οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου ναῦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων 'δύο γὰρ ἦσαν' τῷ χαλκῷματι πατάξας περιερρόμβησε, καὶ ταύτην τε πλαγίαν περιπεσοῦσαν εἶλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν, ἐν ἣ πολυτελεῖς σκευαὶ τῶν περὶ δίαιταν ἦσαν.'
174. Dio 50.33.4.
175. Dio 50.33.6–8: 'οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ τε κάτω τῶν νεῶν πάντα περίξ ἐκακούργουν καὶ τὰς κώπας συνέθραυον τὰ τε πηδάλια ἀπήραττον, καὶ ἐπαναβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα τοὺς μὲν κατέσπων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τοὺς δὲ ἐώθουν, τοῖς δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἅτε καὶ ἰσοπληθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὄντες: οἱ δὲ τοῖς τε κοντοῖς σφᾶς διεωθοῦντο καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις ἔκοπτον, πέτρους τε καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ὄγκους ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένους ἐπικατέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀναβαίνοντας ἀπεκρούοντο καὶ τοῖς ἐς χεῖρας ἰοῦσι συνεφέροντο. εἶκασεν ἄν τις ἰδὼν τὰ γινόμενα, ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλους ὁμοιωῖσαι, τείχεσθαι τισιν ἢ καὶ νήσοις πολλαῖς καὶ πυκναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης πολιορκουμέναις. οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἐπιβῆναι τε τῶν σκαφῶν ὥσπερ ἡπείρου καὶ ἐρύματός τινος ἐπειρῶντο, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα σπουδῇ προσῆγον: οἱ δὲ ἀπεωθοῦντο αὐτούς, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φιλεῖ δρᾶσθαι μηχανώμενοι.'
176. Florus, 21.6: '*itaque habites in omnia quae usus posceret, ad impetus et recursus flexusque capiendos, illas gravis et ad omnia praepeditas singulas plures adortae missilibus, simul rostris, ad hoc ignibus iactis ad arbitrium dissipavere.*'
177. Dio 50.34.1; Vell. Pat. 2.85.4.
178. Dio 50.34.2–7: 'κάνταῦθα ἄλλο αὖ εἶδος μάχης συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλαχῇ ἅμα προσπλέοντές τισι βέλη τε πυρφόρα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξετόξευον καὶ λαμπάδας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπηκόντιζον καὶ τινὰς καὶ χυτρίδας ἀνθράκων καὶ πίττης πλήρεις πόρρωθεν μηχαναῖς ἐπερρίπτουν: οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε ὡς ἕκαστα διεκρούοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τινὰ αὐτῶν διεκρίπτοντα τῶν τε ξύλων ἥπετο καὶ φλόγα αὐτίκα πολλήν, ἅτε ἐν νηί, ἤγειρε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῷ ποτίμῳ ὕδατι ὧ ἐπεφέροντο ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τινὰ κατέσβεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνο καταναλῶθη, ἤντλουν τὸ θαλάττιον. καὶ εἰ μὲν πολλῷ τε καὶ ἀθρόῳ αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο, ἐπεῖχόν πως τῇ βίᾳ τὸ πῦρ: ἀδύνατοι δὲ δὴ πανταχῇ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὄντες 'οὔτε γὰρ πολλὰ ἢ καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἀντλητήρια εἶχον, καὶ ἡμιδεᾶ αὐτὰ ἅτε ταπαττόμενοι ἀνέφερον' οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ὠφελοῦντό τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσπαρώξυνον αὐτό: ἢ γὰρ ἄλμη ἢ θαλαττία ἂν κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπιχέηται φλογί, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὴν ἐκκαίει. ὡς οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡττους ἐγίνοντο, τὰ τε ἱμάτια αὐτῶν τὰ παχέα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπέβαλλον: καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινὰ ἐκολούσθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐδοξέ πη λωφᾶν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου σφοδρῶς ἐπισπέρξαντος ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξέλαμψεν, ἅτε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν

ἐκείνων αὐξανόμενον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν μέρος τι νεὼς ἐκαίετο, προσίσταντό τέ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεπήδων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπέκοπτον τὰ δὲ διεφόρουν: καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐρρίπτουν, εἴ πως καὶ ἐκείνους τι λυμῆναιτο. καὶ ἕτεροι πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ὑγιὲς αὐτῆς μεθιστάμενοι ταῖς τε χερσὶ ταῖς σιδηραῖς καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τοῖς μακροῖς τότε δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο, ὅπως τινὰ ἀντίπαλον ναῦν προσαρτήσαντές σφισι μάλιστα μὲν μετεκβῶσιν ἐς αὐτήν, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἐκείνην συγκαταφλέξωσιν.’ During explorations of the sea floor off the coast of Preveza in 1993 and 1994, divers of The University of South Florida and The Greek Ministry of Culture found what are believed to be stone balls (12cm, 4.7 ins., in maximum diameter) fired by ballistas or catapults: <http://luna.cas.usf.edu/~murray/actium/brochure.html>).

179. Dio 50.35.1–4.
180. Plut., *Ant.* 68.1.
181. Orosius 6.19.10: ‘*inlucescente iam die victoriam Caesar consummavit.*’
182. Florus 2.21.7: ‘*Quippe immensae classis naufragium bello factum toto mari ferebatur, Arabumque et Sabaeorum et mille aliarum Asiae gentium spolia purpura auroque inlita adsidue mote ventis maria revomebant.*’
183. Plut., *Ant.* 68.1 states 300 ships were captured of the total 700 Antonius brought to Actium (n. 141 above), but this seems an exaggerated base number compared to the other ancient historians and 35 per cent had escaped (see n. 169 above) with the queen.
184. Plut., *Ant.* 68.1; Orosius 6.19.12.
185. Plut., *Ant.* 68.3.
186. Plut., *Ant.* 68.3; Vell. Pat. 2.85.5–6.
187. Dio 51.1.4.
188. Vell. Pat. 2.84.2; Dio 50.13.5.
189. Plut., *Ant.* 68.4; Dio 51.4.1.
190. Plut., *Ant.* 68.4–5.
191. Strab., 7.7.6.
192. Dio 51.3.1.
193. Dio 51.3.1, 51.3.4.
194. Dio 51.3.5.
195. Vell. Pat. 2.88.2: ‘*C. Maecenas ... non minus Agrippa Caesari carus, sed minus honoratus (quippe vixit angusti clavi plene contentus), nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit.*’
196. Dio 51.3.5–6: ‘Μαικῆνου ... καταφρονήσωσιν ὅτι ἱππεὺς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἄλλο τι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεμψε. καὶ τοσαύτην γ’ ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαικῆνῳ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγραφε, προαναγιγνώσκειν, κάκ τούτου καὶ μεταγράφειν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἔλαβον παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ἵν’ ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι αὐτὰς ἔχωσι. διπλῆν γὰρ δὴ σφραγίδα, ἥ μάλιστα τότε ἐχρήτο, ἐπεποιήτο, σφίγγα ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ὁμοίαν ἐκτυπώσας. ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐγγλύψας ἐκείνῃ τὰ πάντα ἐσημαίνειτο.’
197. Dio 50.3.7.

198. Plut., *Ant.* 73.3.
199. Vell. Pat. 2.88.3; App., *Bell. Civ.* 4.50; Dio 54.15.4; Livy, *Per.* 133; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 19.1.
200. Dio 51.5.3.
201. Plut., *Ant.* 67.4.
202. Dio 51.5.6.
203. Plut., *Ant.* 69.2: the two friends were the Greek rhetorician Aristocrates and the Roman, Lucilius.
204. Dio 51.5.6.
205. Plut., *Ant.* 71.1.

Chapter 5: Architect of the New Rome

1. Dio 51.4.3.
2. Dio 51.4.4–5.
3. Dio 51.4.2–8; Orosius 6.19.14; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 17.3.
4. Dio 51.4.6.
5. Dio 51.4.7–8: it was an ironic reversal of the proscriptions.
6. Dio 51.5.1.
7. Caesar's route was via the Diolkos, Dio 51.5.2: The Diolkos was an ancient trackway or proto-railway used to drag ships overland across the narrowest part of the Isthmus of Corinth. Just 6.4km (4 miles) long, the Diolkos connected the Corinthian Gulf to the Saronic Gulf, representing a considerable saving over the 400km (250 miles) long journey around the Peloponnese. It also reduced the risk of encountering a dangerous weather event, which could be 25–35 per cent in summer and up to 40 per cent in winter. It was built from immense blocks of stone, forming a continuous roadway 3.5–5m (10–16.5ft) wide, with two parallel tracks engraved in it, spaced 1.5m apart for trolley wheels. The gradient is just 0.023 per cent, or 70m (230ft) in 3km (1.9 miles). The Diolkos was in operation in the first century BCE and was last recorded in use in 883 CE. See Engels (1990), pp. 58–9; Pettegrew (2011); Werner (1997).
8. Dio 51.9.1, 51.16.3; Livy, *Per.* 133.2.
9. Dio 51.14.1–6. For an assessment of whether Kleopatra's death was suicide or murder, see Goldsworthy (2010), p. 384.
10. Plut., *Ant.* 86.4.
11. Caesarion: Dio 51.15.5; Plut., *Ant.* 81.2. Antyllus: Plut., *Ant.* 81.1 and 87.1
12. Dio 51.7.1–3.
13. Carsten Hjort Lange, *Res Publica Constituta: Actium, Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment*, Brill: Leiden (2009), p. 93, convincingly shows that Augustus was acknowledged to have won both a civil war – the Actian War – as well as an external war – viz. the Alexandrian War.
14. Dio 51.19.1, 51.19.5.
15. Dio 51.19.2. On the use of Iulius Caesar during Augustus' principate see Robert A. Gurval, 'Caesar's Comet: The Politics and Poetics of an Augustan Myth', in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 42 (1997), pp. 39–71.
16. Dio 51.19.3, 51.19.5.
17. Dio 51.19.7.

18. Dio 51.19.3; Plut., *Ant.* 86.5.
19. See Flower (2006), pp. 116–121.
20. Dio 51.19.4.
21. Dio 51.19.6.
22. Dio 53.17.9–10; Livy 3.20.7.
23. Dio 51.19.7.
24. Dio 51.20.1–4.
25. Dio 51.1.4.
26. Dio 51.1.5.
27. Dio 51.1.5, 24.37.1–2.
28. E.g. RIC² 263, 264, 265. Gurval (1998), pp. 47–50; cf. Zanker (1990), pp. 53–57.
29. Dio 51.21.3: ‘καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ τόν τε Ἀγρίππαν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ σημείῳ κυανοειδεῖ ναυκρατητικῷ προσεπεσέμνυνε’.
30. Livy, *Per.* 129.4: ‘*M. Agrippa nauali corona a Caesare donatus est, qui honos nulli ante eum habitus erat.*’ Reinhard (1933), p. 60, notes that the award was unique in recorded history of antiquity.
31. Dio 51.21.3.
32. Servius, *Commentary on the Georgics* 3.29: ‘*ac navali surgentes aere columnas columnas dicit, quae in honore Augusti et Agrippae rostratae constitutae sunt. Augustus victor totius Aegypti, quam Caesar pro parte superaverat, multa de navali certamine sustulit rostra, quibus conflatis quattuor effecit columnas, quae postea a Domitiano in Capitolio sunt locatae, quas hodieque conspiciamus: unde ait ‘navali surgentes aere columnas’. nam rostratas Duilius posuit, victis Poenis navali certamine, e quibus unam in rostris, alteram ante circum videmus a parte ianuarum.*’ They appear to have been of a similar design to columns erected to mark Caesar’s victory of the Sicilian War in 36 BCE over Sex. Pompeius recorded by App., *Bell. Civ.* 5.130.
33. Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, 4.1047, II, 13–14 (Berlin 1912). Maecenas also had an estate in Egypt.
34. Dio 53.27.5. *TDAR* p. 114, notes the house was probably considered old fashioned, and Antonius preferred use the house at Carinae. It burned down in 25 BCE while still in joint possession.
35. *RG* 8; Dio 52.42.5; Tac., *Ann.* 11.25.3.
36. For a full discussion see George Willis Botsford, ‘The *Lex Curiata*’ in *Political Science Quarterly* 23.3 (Sep., 1908), pp. 498–517 and J.J. Nicholls, ‘The Content of the *Lex Curiata*’ in *The American Journal of Philology* 88.3 (Jul., 1967), pp. 257–278.
37. Dio 52.41.3.
38. Augustus, *RG* 4; Livy, *Per.* 113; Dio 51.21.5–9; Strab., *Geog.* 12.3.6, 12.3.25; Vell. Pat. 2.89.1; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 22, 41.1, Tib. 6; Florus 2.21.10; Servius, *ad Aen.* 8.714; Orosius 6.20.1.
39. Dio 51.21.5–6.
40. Suet., *Tib.* 6.4. Beard (2007), p. 224.

41. Dio 51.21.7. There is no mention in the extant sources of Agrippa having been granted an ovation for the Illyrian or Actian War.
42. Dio 51.21.7.
43. Dio 51.21.8. After the triumph the children were taken into the care of Caesar's sister, Octavia, and raised in her household – Plut., *Ant.* 87.1.
44. Dio 51.21.9.
45. Dio 51.22.1.
46. For a discussion of Augustus' promotion of the Caesar cult as a precursor to a cult of his own after his death, see Peter White, 'Julius Caesar in Augustan Rome', *Phoenix* 42.4 (Winter, 1988), pp. 334–356.
47. Favro (1996), p. 99, notes that Augustus could speak in Rome's political centre and be surrounded by buildings he himself had renovated after the events of Ides of March 44 BCE, in contrast to M. Antonius.
48. Dio 53.2.3.
49. Dio 51.21.3.
50. Dio 51.21.5.
51. Dio 51.21.4.
52. Dio 53 Index.
53. Dio 53.1.2: 'τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα.'
54. Dio 53.1.1: 'ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντί οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτός τε ταῖς ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε.'
55. Dio 53.1.2.
56. Dio 53.1.2; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 63.1; Plut., *Ant.* 87.2.
57. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 63.1; Papyrus P. Köln 249; *PIR*² C 1102.
58. Reinhold (1972), pp. 119–121.
59. Vell. Pat. 2.127.1.
60. Rüpke (2008), p. 136.
61. Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* 6.7.
62. Rüpke (2008), p. 136: the other members of the college were M. Claudius Marcellus, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, L. Cornelius Cinna, Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, Cn. Pompeius and M. Caecilius Corunutus.
63. Strab., *Geog.* 5.3. The festival occurred on 17, 19, and 20 May, or 27, 29, and 30 May.
64. An inscription preserves an account of the different ceremonies of this festival. It was written in the first year of the reign of the Emperor Heliogabalus (218 CE), who was elected a member of the college under the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix.
65. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 18.2.
66. Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Book 1, Chapter 15, notes that the Romans of Augustus' time regarded the document to be the oldest existing in their language. This hints at an origin of the religious rite going back to at least the founding of the City, with legend suggesting Romulus was the founding member of the order.
67. Ver., *Aen.* 1.148–154.

68. Ver., *Aen.* 1.174–176 (Trans. John Dryden): ‘*Ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates, | suscepitque ignem foliis, atque arida circum | nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in fomite flammam.*’
69. Ver., *Aen.* 1.188–192 (trans. John Dryden): ‘*Constitit hic, arcumque manu celerisque sagittas | corripuit, fidus quae tela gerebat Achates; | ductoresque ipsos primum, capita alta ferentis | cornibus arboreis, sternit, tum volgus.*’
70. Dio 52.1.2.
71. Dio 53.17.2–3.
72. Cic., *de Legibus* 3.3; Dio 53.17.7.
73. Dio 52.42.1; *CIL* IX.422 (Venusia); *RG* 8 (II²): ‘*Senatum ter legi, et in consulatu sexto cenum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi.*’
74. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 35; cf. 300 at the time of the founding of the republic reported in Livy, *Per.* 60, and how numbers were augmented by Iulius Caesar to 900 members as reported in Dio 43.47 and Suet., *Caes.* 80, but restated as 1,000 in *Div. Aug.* 35.1.
75. Dio 52.42.2–3.
76. Dio 52.42.4–5.
77. Dio 52.42.6–7.
78. Dio 52.42.8.
79. *RG* 8; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 27.5; Dio 53.1.3; *CIL* 9.422.
80. Dio 53.1.3; Zonar. 7.19, Gellius 147; Cic., *Leg.* 3.4.
81. Nepos, *Atticus* 20.3: ‘*ex quo accidit, cum aedes Iovis Feretri in Capitolio ab Romulo constituta vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficiendam curaret*’; Augustus, *RG* 4.5; Livy 4.20.7; Dio 44.4.3.
82. Dio 53.1.3.
83. Dio 51.19.2.
84. Dio 53.1.4–5.
85. Dio 53.2.7. See Galinsky (1996), p. 65, who discusses the transition of power in the Commonwealth in the context of *arbitrium*, *ius* and *cura*.
86. In 52.2–40 Dio presents an imaginary dialogue between Caesar, Agrippa and Maecenas on styles of government. In it Agrippa argues for a restoration of the *res publica* of old, while the other proposes an autocracy. Caesar takes the advice of Maecenas and Agrippa accepts the decision. For a discussion of whether the real Agrippa was actually a democrat at heart see Roddaz (1984), pp. 209–216 and McKechnie (1981), pp. 150–155. Reinhard (1933), p. 65, writes ‘that a man who spent ten years fighting for another could still retain republican convictions is, to me, inconceivable ... he resigned himself irrevocably to a monarchical form of government’.
87. Dio 53 Index; *Fasti Praenestini: CIL* I.1² (Rome) (a) p. 231, (b) 236 = Dessau 2.2.8844 (*Fasti Praenestini: CIL* I.1² 236 (Rome) – Agrippa’s consulate is mentioned for 16 January and for 24 April = Dessau 2.2.8844 indicates 23 April; Tac., *Ann.* 1.3.1 uses the phrase *geminatis consulatibus*.
88. Dio 53.3–11.4. For a full discussion of the account presented by Dio and Augustus’ version of events see Turpin (1994), pp. 427–437.
89. Dio 53.11.5.

90. Dio 53.12.1–2, 53.13.4–7, 53.14.1–4; Strab., *Geog.* 17.25.
91. Dio 53.12.4; Strab., *Geog.* 17.25.
92. Dio 53.13.1, 53.15.1.
93. Dio 53.12.5–7: Dio notes Augustus soon swapped Cyprus and Narbonensis for Illyricum/Dalmatia; Strab., *Geog.* 17.25.
94. Dio 53.12.3.
95. Dio 53.22.1–3. The agreement to pay for roads at his own expense recalls Iulius Caesar's similar gesture as *curator viarum* (see [Chapter 1, n. 73](#)).
96. Dio 53.16.6. See Turpin (1994), p. 437.
97. Dio 53.16.7–8 suggests Augustus would have preferred the name Romulus, but understood the extreme political sensitivity of it; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 7; Vell. Pat. 2.91; Florus 4.12; Orosius 6.20; Censorinus 22; Ov., *Fast.* 1.607.
98. Dio 53.16.4–5. Coins: examples *BMCRE* 317 (Rome), *RIC I* 77a (Caesareaugusta), *RIC I* 79a (Colonia Patricia).
99. *Virtus, clementia, iustitia and pietas*. See Galinsky (1996), pp. 80–88.
100. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.13: as Dio 53.16.8 explains Greek speakers translated Augustus as Σεβαστός from the verb 'to revere'.)
101. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26: '*M. Agrippa, vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis.*'
102. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26: '*exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli.*'
103. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26.
104. Livy, *AUC* 2.5.2, 40.52.4; Plut., *Poplic.* 8.1; Florus 1.3.9.1; Cic., *Cat.* 2.1; Hor., *Carm.*, 1.8.4, 3.1.11. See L. Richardson, jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, pp. 65–67.
105. Dio. Hal. 5.13.2; Festus 204L.
106. L. Richardson, jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929), p. 66.
107. Plut., *Caes.* 58.4. See also Gregory S. Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore (2006), Appendix 2; and R. Pareto, 'On the Works Proper to Preventing Inundations of the Tiber in the City of Rome' book review in *Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers Session 1876–7 Volume 49 Part III*, By Institution of Civil Engineers (Great Britain, London, 1877), p. 337.
108. Porphyrio on Hor., *Ars Poetica* 67–68: '*Tiberim intellegamus. Hunc enim Agrippa derivavit, qua nunc vadit; antea per Velabrum fluebat.*'
109. Livy, *AUC* 1.44.1–2; Dion. Hal. 4.22.1–2, 5.13.2; A. Gellius 15.27.4–5; Hor., *Carm.* 3.7.25–28; Vegetius 1.10; Servius, *ad Ecl.* 1.33.
110. Diane Favro, 'Making Rome a World City' in Galinsky (2005), p. 256.
111. Plut., *Pomp.* 42.4. The monumental statue of Pompeius below which Iulius Caesar had been murdered in the *curia* of the theatre was moved to a new location behind the *porta regia* on an arch in the adjoining colonaded *Porticus Pompeii* when Augustus paid for repairs to the theatre in 32 BCE – RG 20; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 31.5.
112. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 100.3–4; Ver., *Aen.* 6.874; Dio 53.30.5.
113. *CIL* VI.39087, VI.29781 = *ILS* 6003 M. AGRIPPA PRIVAT ITER, found in the

Tiber near the Ponte Garibaldi. Dio 54.29.4; cf. Ov., *Pont.* 1.8.37–8; NS 1885, 343.

114. A set of truncated bridge piers was discovered in the 1880s just north of the Ponte Sisto, which has been identified as the remains of the *Pons Agrippae*, confirmed by a calendar inscription from Ostia – *CIL* VI.31545 – found in 1938 recording a restoration by Antoninus Pius. For a full discussion of the *Pons Agrippae*, see Taylor (2002), pp. 8–10. Just upstream from the bridge on the west bank, stood a lavishly decorated, upscale Roman town house nowadays called Villa of the Farnesina (*Casa della Farnesina*, a modern name, not its original), which possibly belonged to Agrippa as well. To the north lay what came to be known as the *Horti Agrippinae*, the Gardens of Agrippina, which most likely belonged to Agrippa before they passed to his daughter.
115. Luigi Borsari, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità?* (1892), pp. 412–28; Luigi Borsari (1888). ‘Del Pons Agrippae sul Tevere tra le regioni IX e XIII.’ *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 16, pp. 92–98; R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Milan, 1893–1901).
116. Dio 53.27.1: ‘αὐτοὺς ἔκλεισεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε’.
117. Dio 53.23.1.
118. Cic., *Att.* 4.16.4; Dio 53.23.2.
119. Dio 53.23.2.
120. *TDAR*, p. 340.
121. Dio 53.23.2.
122. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.29: ‘*nec minor quaestio est in Saeptis, Olympum et Pana, Chironem cum Achille qui fecerint, praesertim cum capitali satisfactione fama iudicet dignos.*’
123. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.102 – he also mentions the *Circus Maximus* built by Iulius Caesar, Basilica of Paulus, Forum of Augustus and Vespasian’s Temple of Peace: ‘*nec ut circum maximum a Caesare dictatore exstructum longitudine stadiorum trium, latitudine unius, sed cum aedificiis iugerum quaternum, ad sedem CCL, inter magna opera dicamus: non inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imp. Aug., pulcherrima operum, quae umquam vidit orbis? non et tectum diribitori ab Agrippa facti, cum theatrum ante texerit Romae Valerius Ostiensis architectus ludis Libonis.*’
124. Dio 55.8.4.
125. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 16.201: ‘*fuit memoria nostra et in porticibus saeptorum a M. Agrippa relictā aequae miraculi causa, quae diribitorio superfuerat, xx pedibus brevior, sesquipedali crassitudine.*’ The building to which Pliny compared it was Nero’s amphitheatre of ‘*longa pedes CXX*’.
126. Dio 55.8.4.
127. Dio 53.27.1 calls it the στοὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, and elsewhere (56.24) speaks of a Ποσειδώνιον. See Lucas (1904).
128. Dio 53.27.1: ‘τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὀνομασμένην καὶ ἐξωκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατήριον τὸ Λακωνικὸν κατεσκεύασε.’ It is

- generally agreed that the *στόα Ποσειδῶνος* mentioned by is the *Basilica Neputini*. Dio 53.27.1.
129. Hor., *Epistulae* 1.6.26; Mart., 2.14.6, 3.20.11, 11.1.10–12. Some scholars believe the basilica and the portico were actually the same building, but the fourth century CE *Curiosum* (but not the *Notitia*) for *Regio IX Circus Flaminius* mentions both a *basilicam Neptuni* and a *porticum Argonautarum et Meleagri*. See Reinhold (1933), p. 75 n. 61; *TDAR*, pp. 54, 311 and 315. See Rodaz (1984), map of the Campus on pp. 254–255.
 130. Dio 53.27.1: ‘τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατήριον τὸ Λακωνικὸν κατεσκεύασε: Λακωνικὸν γὰρ τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδὴ περ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦσθαι τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἄσκεῖν μάλιστα.’ According to Vitruvius 5.2, in Roman architecture, *sudatorium* indicates a vaulted sweating-room (from the Latin *sudor*, sweat) of a bathhouse or *thermae*.
 131. Paoli (1963), pp. 221–228.
 132. Dio 54.11.7; cf. Frontin., 1.10.1–4.
 133. Frontin., 1.10.1–4: ‘*Virgo appellata est, quod quaerentibus aquam militibus puella virguncula venas quasdam monstravit, quas secuti qui foderant, ingentem aquae modum invenerunt.*’ Cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 31.42 and Cassiodorus, *Variae* 7.6.
 134. Frontin., 10.5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 31.420.
 135. Dio 54.11.7; cf. Frontin., 124.4 where he writes ‘most of the conduits had been laid out through the property of private persons’.
 136. Dio 53.27.3: ‘ἡβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσαι, τήν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι: ... ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας’.
 137. Suidas P. 187. Edmund Thomas, ‘From the pantheon of the gods to the Pantheon of Rome’ in Richard Wrigley, Matthew Craske (eds) *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea*, Aldershot (2004), pp. 14–15. Refuting that the Pantheon is a temple at all are Paul Godfrey and David Hemsoll, ‘The Pantheon: Temple or Rotunda?’ in Martin Henig and Anthony Kings (eds) *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 195–209.
 138. Dio 53.27.2: ‘τό τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε: προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὄν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν’; 53.27.3: ‘μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος’. The significance of the choice of deities is that Caesar claimed descent from Mars and Venus, and Augustus was son of the divine Iulius.
 139. Dio 51.20.6–8. For discussion of see Taylor (1920), pp. 116–133.
 140. Dio 51.20.6–7.
 141. Dio 53.27.3, 54.1.1.
 142. Dio 66.24.3; Chron. 146; Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2105, 2127; Orosius 7.12.5; S.H.A. *Hadr.* 19.10, *Ant. Pius* 8.2; *CIL* VI.896 = *ILS* 129.
 143. Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome: A Companion Book for Students and Travelers* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 473–486.
 144. Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome: A*

- Companion Book for Students and Travelers* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 480–481; TDAR p. 285. In this interpretation, the north facing front columns of Hadrian's Pantheon were built over the back wall of Agrippa's, while the position of the doorways of the two buildings nearly coincides.
145. Thomas (1997), pp. 163–186 and Edmund Thomas, 'From the pantheon of the gods to the Pantheon of Rome' in Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske (eds), *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 27–28.
 146. Edmund Thomas, 'From the pantheon of the gods to the Pantheon of Rome' in Richard Wrigley, Matthew Craske (eds), *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 28.
 147. MacDonald (1976), pp. 45–49, and figures 49 and 50; p. 68 and figures 77 and 78.
 148. Scaife (1953), p. 37. The capitals of the columns are exactly like those of the interior (RA 122), though the *entasis* of the columns differs (*Mem. Am. Acad.* 4.122, 142) suggesting that these are contemporary with Hadrian and were not carved in Agrippa's time.
 149. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.38: '*Agrippae Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis; in columnis templi eius Caryatides probantur inter pauca operum, sicut in fastigio posita signa, sed propter altitudinem loci minus celebrate.*'
 150. MacDonald (1976), p. 60.
 151. Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 1.1.5: '*Historias autem plures novisse oportet, quod multa ornamenta saepe in operibus architecti designant, de quibus argumenti rationem, cur fecerint, quaerentibus reddere debent. quemadmodum si quis statuas marmoreas muliebres stolatas, quae caryatides dicuntur, pro columnis in opere statuerit et insuper mutulos et coronas conlocaverit, percontantibus ita reddet rationem. Carya, civitas Peloponnensis, cum Persis hostibus contra Graeciam consensit. postea Graeci per victoriam gloriose bello liberati communi consilio Caryatibus bellum indixerunt. itaque oppido capto, viris interfectis, civitate deflagrata matronas eorum in servitutem abduxerunt, nec sunt passi stolas neque ornatus matronales deponere, non uti una triumpho ducerentur, sed aeterna, servitutis exemplo gravi contumelia pressae poenas pendere viderentur pro civitate. ideo qui tunc architecti fuerunt aedificiis publicis designaverunt earum imagines oneri ferendo conlocatas, ut etiam posteris nota poena peccati Caryatium memoriae traderetur.*'
 152. Stevens and Paton (1927).
 153. MacDonald (1976), pp. 45–49, and figures 49 and 50; p. 68 and figures 77 and 78.
 154. <http://www.nps.gov/thje/index.htm>.
 155. CIL VI.896 = ILS 129.1: '*M(arcus) Agrippa L(ucii) F(ilius) Co(n)s(ul) tertium fecit*' [in 27 BCE].
 156. MacDonald (1976), p. 13.
 157. HSA, *Hadrian* 19.9.
 158. Ziolkowski (1994), pp. 261.
 159. Ziolkowski (1994), pp. 269–71.
 160. MacDonald (1976), p. 77–78; Ziolkowski (1994), p. 268. *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13 2: 34–5: '*F(eriae) ex S(enatus) C(onsulto) q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp(erator) C(aesar*

Aug(ustus) Pont(ifax) [ma(ximus)] natus est. Marti, Neptuno in Campo, Apo[l]lini ad theatrum Marcelli.'

161. Ziolkowski (1994), p. 273.
162. Ziolkowski (1994), p. 274.
163. Ziolkowski (1994), p. 275.
164. Ziolkowski (1994), p. 276.
165. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.38; Dio 53.27.2.
166. Dio 54.28.5. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 97.1 mentions the *aedes Agrippae*. HJ 572; Mitt. (1903), pp. 48–53. For the Marble Plan of Rome (the so-called *Forma Urbs Romae*) see <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu>. Samuel Ball Platner, Thomas Ashby, *TDAR* identify fragments 72 and 103 as the *Sepulchrum Agrippae*.
167. A plinth of a column of pavonazetto, documented as *CIL* XV.988 but which is now lost, was carved with the letters [M AGR]IPPAE.
168. Dio 53.27.4: 'καὶ ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἡτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτίμησε.'
169. Vell. Pat. 2.88.2: 'Erat tunc urbis custodiis praepositus C. Maecenas equestri, sed splendido genere natus, vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomnis, providens atque agendi sciens, simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens, non minus Agrippa Caesari carus, sed minus honoratus – quippe vixit angusti clavi paene contentus –, nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit.'
170. Tac., *Ann.* 14.53. Dalzell (1956), pp. 151–162.
171. Suet., *Viri Illustri* 44: 'M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat, novae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis, atque ideo latentis.'
172. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26.
173. Strab., 3.4.5; Dio 53.25.5; Florus 2.33. For a summary of the wars before Augustus, see Van Nostrand (1915), pp. 84–91.
174. Suet., *Tib.* 9.1.
175. Florus 2.33: 'Haec per Antistium Furniumque legatos et Agrippam hibernans in Tarraconis maritimis Caesar accepit.' On the inclusion of Agrippa, see Magie (1920), p. 335. Gardthausen (2.374–375) and Motte (245) who propose that Florus compressed different three campaigns into a single statement.
176. Dio 53.25.6.
177. Dio 53.25.7.
178. Dio 53.27.3, 53.28.1.
179. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 63.
180. Dio 53.27.5.
181. Dio 53.25.7, 53.29.1.
182. Dio 53.28.1.
183. Dio 53.27.5.
184. Dio 53.27.6: 'τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν σύννοικον ἐποιήσατο.'
185. Vell. Pat. 2.93.1.

186. Dio 53.28.3.
187. Dio 53.28.3; Vell. Pat. 2.93.1.
188. Tac., *Ann.* 1.3: ‘*admodum adulescentem.*’
189. Vell. Pat. 2.93.2: ‘*M. Marcellus, sororis Augusti Octaviae filius, quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Caesari, successorem potentiae eius arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id per M. Agrippam securo ei posse contingere non existimarent.*’
190. Augustus also insisted that his stepsons by Livia, Tiberius and Drusus the Elder, undertook military service before advancing far up the *cursus honorum*.
191. Dio 53.31.4: ‘καὶ ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τε τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἡτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτίμησε.’

Chapter 6: Statesman of the Roman World

1. Dio 53.30.1.
2. Dio 53.30.2.
3. Dio 53.30.1: ‘καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀθροίσας διαδοχὸν μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε.’
4. Dio 53.30.3.
5. Dio 53.31.1.
6. See Syme (1959), p. 69; Reinhard (1933), pp. 98–99 and 168–69. See also Gray (1970), pp. 227–238.
7. See Gray (1970), p. 231, argues he received *imperium aequum*, ‘equal to that of any governor or commander in any of the provinces to which he might be summoned by the state, not an *imperium maius* with respect to the imperium of all such governors or commanders.’
8. Vell. Pat. 2.93.2: ‘*Agrippa ... ut fama loquitur, ob tacitas cum Marcello offensiones praesenti se subduxerat tempori.*’
9. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 66.3: ‘*M. Agrippae patientiam ... cum ille ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi antefereatur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset.*’
10. Suet., *Tib.* 10.1: ‘*Quidam existimant, adultis iam Augusti liberis, loco et quasi possessione usurpati a se diu secundi gradus sponte cessisse exemplo M. Agrippae, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto Mytilenas abierit, ne aut obstare aut obtrectare praesens uideretur*’ – Tiberius used Agrippa’s withdrawal as the justification of his own retirement to Rhodes when he perceived C. Caesar’s career advancing ahead of his own.
11. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.149: ‘*pudenda Agrippae ablegatio.*’
12. Tac., *Ann.* 14.53.3, 55.2–3.
13. Dio 53.32.1.
14. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 15.10.2: ‘πέμπεται δ’ Ἀγρίππας τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι.’
15. See Maggie (1908), pp. 145–152.
16. Iustin 42.5.6; cf. Dio 51.18.
17. Iustin 43.5.7–9; Dio 53.33.
18. Dio 53.30.5–6.
19. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 29.4.
20. Dio 53.31.2.

21. Dio 53.31.3, cf. Dio 54.2.5 for Augustus' directive of 22 BCE banning patricians from exhibiting themselves on stage in public.
22. Dio 53.31.2.
23. Hor., *Carm.* 1.6: *Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium | victor, Maeonii carminis alite, | quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis | miles te duce gesserit. || Nos, Agrippa, neque haec diceere nec gravem | Palidae stomachum cedere nescii | nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei | nec saevam Pelopis domum || conamur, tenues grandia, dum pudor | imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat | laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas | culpa deterere ingeni. || Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina | digne scripserit aut pulvere Troico | nigrum Merionen aut ope Palladis | Tydiden superis parem? || Nos convivia, nos proelia virginum | sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium | contamus vacui, sive quid urimur, | non praeter solitum leves.* (translated by John Connington with adaptations by the author.)
24. See Cairns (1995), pp. 211–217.
25. For a full discussion, see Cairns (1995), pp. 213–214. He proposes a parallel link with Agrippa and Diomedes and the town of Argyri(p)pa.
26. See [Chapter 1, n. 10](#).
27. Dio 53.32.1: 'οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ... αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.'
28. Strab., *Geog.* 13.2.2; Hor., *Carm.* 1.7.1, *Epistulae* 1.11.17.
29. Strab., *Geog.* 13.2.2: 'ἔχει δ' ἡ Μιτυλήνη λυμένας δύο, ὣν ὁ νότιος κλειστός τριηρικὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα, ὁ δὲ βόρειος μέγας καὶ βαθύς, χώματι σκεπαζόμενος: πρόκειται δ' ἀμφοῖν νησίον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἔχον αὐτόθι συνοικούμενον: κατεσκευάσται δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι καλῶς.'
30. Strab., *Geog.* 13.2.3.
31. For example P. Rutilius Rufus; Cic., *Pro Rab. Post.* 10.27.
32. Dio 53.31.3.
33. Dio 53.30.4.
34. Dio 53.33.4. The suggestion that Livia was a conspirator, popularised by novelist Robert Graves in *I, Claudius*, is highly dubious.
35. Dio 53.30.5.
36. The Theatre of Marcellus as it is still known, stands up to its second storey with substantial Mediaeval modifications above.
37. Aelius Donatus, *Vita Vergiliana* 32 citing Ver., *Aen.* 6.884.
38. Vell. Pat. 2.93.2: 'Agrippa, qui sub specie ministeriorum principalium profectus in Asiam'; Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 15.10.2.
39. Dio 53.25.1.
40. Dio 53.32.1: 'καὶ ὅς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, ... ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμψεν ...'
41. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 15.10.2: 'καὶ τούτῳ περὶ Μιτυλήνην χεμιάζοντι συντυχὼν Ἡρώδης, ἦν γὰρ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος καὶ συνήθης, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀνέστρεφεν.'
42. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 15.9.3, *Bell. Iud.* 1.21.1, 1.21.4; Hegesippus 1.35.1.
43. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 15.10.20. For Gadara see Matthew 8:28.
44. Roddaz (1984), p. 451, notes Herodes was officially responsible not just for

- Iudaea but for Cyprus, Lycia and Syria also, citing Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 15.360, 16.128, and *Bellum* 1.399, 1.428.
45. See Braund (1984), pp. 75–85, 91–99 and 105–116.
 46. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 15.10.2: ‘Γαδαρέων δέ τινες ἐπ’ Ἀγρίππαν ἦλθον κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς δοῦς ἀναπέμπει τῷ βασιλεῖ δεσμίους’; cf. 15.7.3.
 47. See Braund (1984), p. 68 n. 15, citing G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, 1965, chapter 4.
 48. See Braund (1984), p. 57.
 49. Dio 53.26.3.
 50. Dio 53.29.3.
 51. Dio 53.29.4.
 52. Dio 53.29.5: ‘τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὁμοιον ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκηψαν ἐξήραινεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτίκα ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγιγνομένων ἕς τε τὰ σκέλη κατῆι, πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν.’
 53. Dio 53.29.6–7.
 54. Dio 53.29.8: ‘πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὔτοι, νομίζω δ’ ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον: μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἀθλούλων καλουμένων, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐχώρησαν’; cf. *RG* 26.5. J.W. Rich (1990), *Cassius Dio: The Augustan Settlement (Roman History 53–55.9)*, Oxford (1990), p. 165, states that the tomb of a Roman cavalryman, P. Cornelius, has been found there.
 55. Strab., 17.1.54: he suggests that it was while Gallus was in Arabia with his army that the Ethiopians saw their opportunity to raid Egypt.
 56. Strab., 17.1.54. Remarkably, the bronze head of Augustus with its eyes of glass and stone still intact, was found. Buried in the steps of the Victory Temple of the Kushites, everytime a worshipper ascended the steps they trod on the face of the Roman emperor. It is now in the British Museum, accession number GR 1911.9–1.1.
 57. Strab., *Geog.* 17.1.54. Her full name and title was *Amnirense qore li kdwe li*, ‘Ameniras, Qore and Kandake’. The name Kandake, the Greek form of the Nubian word, indicates she was a queen. She is mentioned in the Bible, *Acts* 8:26–27.
 58. Dio 54.5.4; Strab., 17.1.54.
 59. Dio 54.5.5; Strab., 17.1.54; *RG* 26.5.
 60. Dio 54.5.6.
 61. *RG* 26.5.
 62. Refer to Sources: 3. Inscriptions.
 63. See Glen Bowersock, ‘Augustus in the East: The Problem of the Succession’ in Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (eds) *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford, 1984), p. 169.
 64. Dio 54.1.1: ‘καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεῖν.’
 65. Dio 54.1.2.

66. Dio 54.1.3.
67. Dio 54.1.5.
68. Dio 54.1.4.
69. Dio 54.2.1; in 54.2.2 he writes ‘these were the last two private citizens to hold the censorship together, which was no doubt the meaning of the sign given to them; for the platform, on which they were to perform one of the functions devolving upon them, collapsed as they ascended it on the first day of their holding the office, and was shattered in pieces, and after that no others of the same rank as these became censors together.’
70. Dio 54.2.4.
71. Dio 54.3.1.
72. Dio 54.3.4.
73. Dio 54.3.5.
74. Dio 54.3.6.
75. See Garnsey (1924), pp. 146–161.
76. Dio 54.6.1. The nature of the matters is not disclosed.
77. Dio 54.6.1–2.
78. Dio 54.6.3.
79. Dio 54.6.4.
80. Dio 54.6.4: ‘καὶ μήτε μόνῃ τῇ Ῥώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ’ αὖ ἄναρχον αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν τολμῶν, ἐζήτει τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστῆσαι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν.’
81. Dio 54.6.5.
82. Dio 54.6.5.
83. Dio 54.6.5: ‘καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίπερ ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ οὖσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικῆσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἐπεμψε, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μαικίνας συμβουλευομένῳ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι ‘τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστ’ ἡ γαμβρόν σου.’
84. Dio 54.6.5; Plut., *Ant.* 87.2; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 63.1. Marcella was allowed to be single for long and was married off to one of M. Antonius’ sons, Iullus Antonius – Plut., *Ant.* 87.3, Vell. Pat. 2.110.5.
85. See Fantham (2006), pp. 17–28.
86. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.5.2.
87. For example, the bust in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen (Fentham (2006), p. 136).
88. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.5.2–5: ‘*Hodie enim me patris oculis ornavi, heri viri*’.
89. Dio 54.6.1. An inscription in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin attests to the presence of Varus in Pergamon; it was presumably erected for an act of generosity on his part to the citizens. The citizens of Athens and Tenos (the Cycladic island of Tinos) erected similar dedications.
90. See John R. Clarke, ‘Augustan Domestic Interiors: Propaganda or Fashion’ in Galinsky (2005), pp. 271–72. The villa complex was discovered in 1879 beneath the Villa Farnesina.

91. The exquisite painted murals of the rooms of the palatial building have since been moved to the Museo Nazionale Romane-Palazzo Massimo alle Terme in Rome. The frescoes were restored when the Palazzo Massimo was opened in 1998.
92. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35 is an encyclopaedic overview of painting techniques and materials used in the Roman world.
93. See Galinsky (2005), plates V and VIII.
94. The villa complex was discovered quite by accident on March 23, 1903, when the Circumvesuviana – the railway line, which runs from Naples around the base of Mount Vesuvius – was being laid. The owner of the property on which the villa was found, Sig. Cavaliere Ernesto Santini, partially excavated it between 1903 and 1905 with the help of the Italian archaeologist, Sig. Matteo Della Corte. The structure is also known – probably erroneously – by the name Villa of Agrippa Postumus.
95. Von Blanckenhagen, Alexander, Mertens and Faltermeir (1990).
96. See John R. Clarke, 'Augustan Domestic Interiors: Propaganda or Fashion' in Galinsky (2005), pp. 272–275. See also Elfriede R. Knauer (1993), 'Roman Wall Paintings from Boscotrecase: Three Studies in the Relationship between Writing and Painting', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 28, pp. 13–46.
97. The villa's best painted murals have since been removed to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.
98. See Galinsky (2005), plates VI and VII.
99. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26.
100. Dio 49.43.6.
101. Dio 49.43.5
102. Dio 54.8.5.
103. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.66.
104. Dio 54.8.4.
105. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.17.
106. Vegetius, *De Re Militari* 3.
107. Iulius Honorius, *Kosmographia*: see A. Riese, *Geographi latini minores collegit, recensuit, prolegomenis instruxit*. Henninger Bros, Heilbronn (1878), pp. 21–22. Honorius names the Greeks as Nikodemos, Didymos, Theudotos and Polyclitos – see C. Nicolet, P. Gautier Dalché, 'Les quatre sages de Jules César et la mesure du monde selon Julius Honorius', *Journal des Savants* (Oct.–Dec., 1986), pp. 157–218.
108. Strab., *Geog.* 2.5.17: 'πλεῖστον δ' ἡ θάλαττα γεωγραφεῖ καὶ σχηματίζει τὴν γῆν, κόλπους ἀπεργαζομένη καὶ πελάγη καὶ πορθμούς, ὁμοίως δὲ ἰσθμούς καὶ χερρονήσους καὶ ἄκρας· προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄρη. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἡπειροὶ τε καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεων θέσεις εὐφρεῖς ἐνεννοήθησαν καὶ τᾶλλα ποικίλματα, ὅσων μεστός ἐστιν ὁ χωρογραφικὸς πίναξ. ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ τῶν νήσων πλῆθος ἐστὶ κατεσπαρμένον ἐν τε τοῖς πελάγεσι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν πᾶσαν. ἄλλων δ' ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τε καὶ κακίας καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν χρεῖας ἐπιδεικνυμένων ἢ δυσχρηστίας, τὰς μὲν φῶσει τὰς

δὲ ἐκ κατασκευῆς, τὰς φύσει δεῖ λέγειν: διαμένουσι γάρ, [p. 162] αἱ δ' ἐπίθετοι δέχονται μεταβολάς. καὶ τούτων δὲ τὰς πλείω χρόνον συμμένειν δυναμένης ἐμφανιστέον, ... μὴ πολὺ μὲν, ἄλλως δ' ἐπιφάνειαν ἐχούσας τινὰ καὶ δόξαν, ἥ πρὸς τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον παραμένουσα τρόπον τινὰ συμφυῇ τοῖς τόποις ποιεῖ καὶ μηκέτι οὖσαν κατασκευήν, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι δεῖ καὶ τούτων μεμνηῖσθαι. περὶ πολλῶν γάρ ἐστι πόλεων τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ εἴτε Δημοσοθένης ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθον, ἃς οὕτως ἠφανίσθαι φησὶν ὥστε μὴδ' εἰ πώποτε ὤκισθησαν γινῶναι ἂν τινὰ ἐπελθόντα. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ εἰς τούτους τοὺς τόπους καὶ εἰς ἄλλους ἀφικνοῦνται ἄσμενοι, τὰ γ' ἱχνη ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν τῶν οὕτω διωνομασμένων ἔργων, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ νομίμων καὶ πολιτειῶν μεμνήμεθα τῶν μηκέτι οὐσῶν, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς ὠφελείας προκαλουμένης τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων: ἥ γὰρ ζήλου χάρις ἢ ἀποτροπῆς τῶν τοιούτων.'

109. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.16–17: '*Longitudinem universam eius prodidit M. Agrippa CCCCLXXV p., latitudinem CCLVIII, sed cum termini Carthaginem usque procederent: quae causa magnos errores computatione mensurae saepius parit, alibi mutato provinciarum modo, alibi itinerum, auctisque aut deminutis passibus. incubuere maria tam longo aevo, alibi processere litora, torsere se fluminem aut correxere flexus. praeterea aliunde aliis exordium mensurae est et alia meatus. ita fit ut nulli duo concinant. Agrippam quidem in tanta viri diligentia praeterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat et cum eo Divum Augustum? is namque complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore eius inchoatam peregit.*'
110. For a discussion of current thinking about Agrippa's *Orbis Terrarum* see Carey (2003), pp. 61–74. The idea that Agrippa's map might have just been an inscription has been proposed by K. Brodersen, *Terra Incognita: Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung*, *Spudasmata* 59 (1995), pp. 268–287.
111. Dio 54.11.1–2: 'Ἀγρίππας ... ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη. ἔν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο.' Dio calls the Germanic invaders by the name Κελτῶι.
112. Dio 54.11.1.
113. Livy, *AUC* 21.38; Polyb. 34.10; Ver., *Aen* 10.15ff.
114. Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 1.11: in 58 BCE, Caesar picked this as 'the shortest route to Further Gaul over the Alps' departing Ocelum 'the westernmost village in Nearer Gaul' and reached the Vocontii on the west bank of the Rhone in six days.
115. Alpes Cottiae was a Roman client-kingdom of Ligurian royalty, one of three small independent states straddling the western Alps between modern France and Italy. Its name survives in the Cottian Alps. Plut., *Mar.* 19 notes the Ligurians called themselves Ambrones, which means 'people of the water'.
116. On the dynasty of Cottius see Letta (1976), pp. 37–76: King Donnus, or C. Iulius Donnus, was an opportunistic Ligurian who saw his way to longevity by siding with Iulius Caesar during his wars of conquest, whose reward for picking the right side led to his grant of Roman citizen. See Braund (1984), p. 40, who cites an inscription, CIL V.7232, carved for his freedman and freed-woman

which preserves the fact of their former master's name.

117. From Segusio in the Alpes Cottiae, dated 9–8 BCE, the inscription over a triumphal archway *BFC* 9 (1904), 89 = Ehrenberg and Jones (1955), no. 165: 'M. Agrippae L. f. [Cos III tri]b. Potest. [...] Do[nnus] et Cott(ius?) Cott(i) f.'
118. Amm. Marc. 15.10, 2; Chevalier 1976, p. 49, cites one of the so-called Vicarello goblets listing the crossing as 'in Alpe Cottia'. Cottius may have charged users of the road a toll just as the Salassi did when travellers passed through their country at a rate of one drachma per head, most famously Dec. Brutus who was fleeing from Mutina in 43 BCE: Strab., *Geog.* 4.6.7, 4.6.11.
119. Chevalier (1976), p. 160.
120. Dio 54.11.2: 'ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη: ἔν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο.'
121. Cf. Dio 54.24.5 and 54.28.2.
122. Strab., 4.3.4, Tac., *Ann.* 12.27.1–2, *Germ.* 28.5 cf. *Hist.* 4.28, 4.63; and Suet. *Div. Aug.* 21.1.
123. Strab., *Geog.* 4.3.4: 'ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη: ἔν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο'; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 21.1.
124. Tac., *Germ.* 28. See Wells (1972), pp. 134–136.
125. See Wells (1972), p. 135.
126. Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 5.57–58.
127. A siege camp of T. Labienus was identified in 2010: Dr S. Hornung entitled 'Ein spätrepublikanisches Militärlager bei Hermeskeil (Lkr. Trier-Saarburg), Vorbericht über die Forschungen 2010–2011', *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 42.2, 2012 published by Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz (<http://web.rgzm.de/1470.html>).
128. See Edith Mary Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri*, New York (1971), p. 36.
129. MacKendrik (1971), p. 64; MacMullen (2000), pp. 93–95.
130. Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 1.33.
131. Desbat (2005), p. 5.
132. Strab., 4.6.11.
133. See Reinhard (1933), p.90 n. 76, for a survey of scholarship arguing pro and contra ascribing the building of a fourth road connecting Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum/Lyon to Massilia/Marseilles to Agrippa.
134. See Goudineau (1996), p. 488; Strab., 4.3.2 mentions the sixty nations of Tres Galliae comprised of twenty-five in Lugdunensis, eighteen in Belgica and seventeen in Aquitania. Tacitus mentions sixty-four tribes at the time of the revolt of 21 CE (Tacitus, I 3.44) but this may include four civitates that were later part of the Roman province of Germania Superior.
135. On the 'Romainization' of Gaul see: Wightman (1977), pp. 105–126; Woolf (1997), pp. 339–350.
136. See Goudineau, *CAH* (1996), p. 497.
137. See Goudineau, *CAH* (1996), p. 496; Wolff (1998), p. 120.
138. Ward-Perkins (1970), p. 5.
139. The date remains controversial: see Amy and Gros (1979); Anderson (2001),

pp. 68–79.

140. Espérandieu (1919), p. 337. He argues (1919, p.338) it was replaced after Agrippa's death with the second inscription 'C CAESARI AVGVSTI F COS L CAESARI AVGVSTI F COS DESIGNATO PRINCIPIBVS IVVENTVTIS', *CIL* 12.3155. Espérandieu (1929), Balty (1960), pp. 59–73.
141. See <http://www.arennes-nimes.com/en/discovering-site/maison-carree>.
142. *CIL* XII.3153: 'M. AGRIPPA L F CO[S III ... DAT]'; *CIL* XII.3154: 'M. AGRIPP[A L F COS III ... DAT]'.
143. *RIC* I 157; *RPC* I 523; *CRE* Ashmolean 413; *ACIP* 3373; *SNG* Hunterian 149.
144. *CIL* XII.3154 was found on the site of the bath house. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.189 – 'Agrippa certe in thermis, quas Romae fecit ...' – confirms that Agrippa built *thermae* outside Rome.
145. See E. Espérandieu, *Le Pont du Gard et l'Aqueduc de Nîmes*, 9–11, 1926.
146. See Fabre, Fiches and Paillet (1991), pp. 63–88. Fabre, Fiches and Paillet (2000).
147. Cf. Claudius may have used plans drawn up by Iulius Caesar for the remodelling of the port at Ostia: Suet., *Div. Claud.* 20.
148. Dio 54.11.2: 'οἱ γὰρ Κάνταβροι οἱ ζωργηθέντες τε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πραθέντες τοὺς τε δεσπότας σφῶν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπανελθόντες πολλοὺς συναπέστησαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν χωρία καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐντειχισμένοι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευον.'
149. See also Colmenero (1979), p. 127. Roddaz (1984), p. 407, shares the view held by G. Alföldy and R. Syme that P. Silius Nerva followed Carisius as governor of Hispania Citerior.
150. Florus 2.33; Augustus, *RG* 26.2. For a full discussion of the war and a comparison of ancient sources see Magie (1920), pp. 323–339.
151. See Jones (1976), pp. 48–52. *Legiones V Alaudae*, VI *Victrix*, and X *Gemina* operated in Asturias, with VI based at Braga; see Jona Lendering's excellent website <http://www.livius.org/le-lh/legio/legions.htm>, who suggests a sub-unit of VIII *Augusta* also took part, and that during the Cantabrian War I and II *Augusta* were involved in the building of *colonia Acci* (Guadix el Viejo) in southern Spain.
152. See Jones (1976), pp. 52–57.
153. Florus 2.33.
154. See Goldsworthy (1996), pp. 131–132, citing Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 4.23 and 7.45. *Concilia* are mentioned by Joseph., in *Bell. Iud.* 3.161–162, 4.366–378, 5.491–502 and 6.236–243.
155. Dio 54.11.3: 'ἐπ' οὖν τούτους ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύσας ἔσχε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔργον: πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ὄντες καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων τετραυχωμένοι, τοὺς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπολεμήτους δεδιότες, οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο αὐτῷ.'
156. Suet., *Div. Iul.* 70; Livy, *Per.* 113; App., *Bell. Civ.* 2.92–4; Dio 42.52–5; Lucan, *Pharsalus* 5.237–373. Questioning the accuracy of extant accounts of the actual events is Chrissanthos (2001), pp. 63–75. For a general overview of mutinies see Lindsay Powell, 'The Mood of the Armies: Morale and Mutiny in the Roman

Army of the First Century A.D.', *Exercitus* (Spring 1988), Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 61–64.

157. Suet., *Div. Iul.* 70; Plut., *Caes.* 51; App., *Bell. Civ.* 2.93; Dio 42.53; Tac., *Ann.* 1.42; Lucan, *Pharsalus* 5.357–360.
158. Augustus forbade his legates to use the term *comitiones* insisting on *milites*: Suet., *Div. Aug.* 25.1: 'After the civil wars he never called any of the troops "comrades," either in the assembly or in an edict, but always "soldiers"; and he would not allow them to be addressed otherwise, even by those of his sons or stepsons who held military commands, thinking the former term too flattering for the requirements of discipline, the peaceful state of the times, and his own dignity and that of his household.'
159. Dio 54.11.4: 'ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν, τὰ μὲν νουθετήσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθησάμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας, διὰ ταχέων πειθαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε.'
160. Dio 53.25.6.
161. Dio 53.25.5, 53.29.2.
162. Dio 53.25.2.
163. Strab., *Geog.* 3.3.8.
164. Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6.259: '*Cantaber exiguis aut longis Teutonus armis.*'
165. A short leaf-shaped dagger and *bipennis* are depicted on the reverse of a silver *denarius* minted at Emerita under Carisius, 25–23 BCE (*RIC* I 41, 7a, *BMCRE* I 281) and the curved *falcata* on a *denarius* (*RIC* I 2a and 3, *BMCRE* I 15 and 277, *RSC* 400b) – see Walter Trillmich, 'Colonia Augusta Emerita, Capital of Lusitania' in Edmondson (2009), fig. 14.1 nos. 1 and 2 on p. 430. Strab., 3.4.15; Dio 53.25.6, mentions javelin-throwers.
166. A 'Celtiberian' horned helmet is depicted on the reverse of a silver *denarius* minted at Emerita under Carisius 25–23 BCE (*RIC* I 7a and 7b, *BMCRE* I 281 and 282). Round shields are depicted on another silver *denarii* of Carisius singly (*RIC* I 2a and 3, *BMCRE* I 15, *RSC* 400b) and piled up as trophies of war (*RIC* I 4b and 5; *BMCRE* I 283 var. and 284; *RSC* 402 and 403). See Walter Trillmich, 'Colonia Augusta Emerita, Capital of Lusitania' in Edmondson (2009), fig. 14.1 no. 1 on p. 430.
167. Dio 53.25.6.
168. Strab., 3.4.15; Flavius Arrianus. *Technè Taktikè* 40; Hadrian's *adlocutio* is preserved in *CIL* VIII.2532.
169. Strab., 3.4.18: 'οὐκ ἴδιον δὲ τῶν Ἰβήρων οὐδὲ τοῦτο σύνδυο ἐφ' ἵππων κομίζεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας τὸν ἕτερον πεζὸν ἀγωνίζεσθαι'. See McCall (2002), pp. 42–43 citing Livy, *AUC* 26.4.4–10.
170. Strab., 3.4.5; Vell. Pat. 2.90.4.
171. Dio 54.11.2.
172. Dio 54.11.4: 'πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους πολλὰ προσέπταισεν'.
173. Dio 54.11.4: 'καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων, ἅτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἔτι σωθῆναι ἀλόντες ἐχρῶντο'.
174. Roddaz (1984), pp. 405–410, questions Dio's account, beginning with the date. He believes the rebellion began in 20 BCE and only after appreciating the gravity of the situation did Agrippa intervene in the spring of the following

year. He posits that the captives turned rebels could not have been held far beyond the conflict zone, perhaps at the mines in northwestern Spain, which would explain the speed of the uprising so soon after the war supposedly ended. He further suggests that the entire region, in particular the mountainous areas, had not been subdued in that war. This difficult terrain was unsuited to the Roman style of war fighting, the effect of which was to degrade the morale of the legionaries who perceived the conflict as a war without end.

175. Florus 2.33: ‘*quasi quadam cogebat indagare.*’
176. Attica: Orosius 6.21; Bergida: Florus: 2.33.
177. Florus 2.33; Orosius 6.21. Mons Vindius may have been one of the mountains in the Cordillera Cantábrica.
178. Florus 2.33 mentions Aracillum; Orosius 6.21 mentions Racilium. For a discussion see Martino (1982), pp. 32–33, 94–98 and 142.
179. Florus 2.33; Orosius 6.21. The Miño is the longest river in Galicia, Spain, with an extension of 340 km. For a discussion of the whereabouts of Mons Medullus, see Magie (1920), pp. 334–335.
180. Florus: 2.33 says 18 miles; Orosius 6.21 says 15 miles.
181. Orosius 6.21.
182. Strab., 3.4.17; cf. Florus 2.22 on the Raeti of the central Alps in 15 BCE.
183. Florus 2.33.
184. Dio 53.25.8.
185. Dio 53.25.7.
186. *Denarius*: RIC I 4b; BMCRE I 284; RSC 402.
187. Dio 54.5.1.
188. See [note 149](#) above.
189. Dio 54.5.2–3.
190. Dio 54.11.5: ‘ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμώσας ὅτι ἡττῶντο ‘τά τε γὰρ ...’
191. Dio 54.11.5. Augustus came down hard on recalcitrant units, says Suet., *Div. Aug.* 24. It is possible *Legio* I was removed to Aquitania or Belgica where it was reconstituted, suggests Syme (1933), p. 16.
192. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 3.5.1.
193. Dio 54.11.5: ‘τέλος δέ ποτε συχνοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ... τοὺς τε ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πολέμιους πάντας ὀλίγου διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν κατεβίβασεν.’
194. Hor., *Epistulae* 1.12.26–27: ‘*Cantaber Agrippae ... virtute ... cecidit*’; Vell. Pat. 2.90.1; Strab., 3.3.8, 6.4.2; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 21.1.
195. Dio 54.11.6: ‘οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐπέσειλέ τι τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὔτε τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου προστάξεως ψηφισθέντα προσήκατο, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε τούτοις ἐμετρίαζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ γνώμην ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτηθεὶς οὐκ ἔδωκε.’
196. Vell. Pat. 2.90.1 and 4. Magie (1920), p. 339, writes ‘it was not until 19 B.C. that these mountain peoples were finally subjugated by the resolution and persistence of Agrippa’. Syme (1959), pp. 67–68, remarks, ‘the official version celebrated the Spanish campaigns of 26 and 25 B.C. as the final conquest,

justifying Augustus' second closing of the temple of Janus. Yet there was serious fighting in 24 and 22 B.C.; and in 19 B.C. Agrippa completed the subjugation of the Northwest. In fact, there is good cause for speaking of a ten years' war in Spain.'

197. After 15 BCE the only legionary two units stationed in Spain were *Legiones IIII Macedonica* at Herrera de Pisuergra and *X Gemina* at Braga. Veterans of I and II *Augusta* were resettled in Barcelona and Cartenna (in Mauretania) while those of V *Alaudae*, X *Gemina* and XX *Valeria Victrix* went to Mérida. Learning from the previous legates' mistakes, after the conflict it seems he may have reorganised the Spanish provinces and turned Asturia and neighbouring Gallaecia into a military district so that never again would the region rebel against Rome, according to Van Nostrand (1915), pp. 95–6. The administrative reorgansation of the Iberian Peninsula during the Augustan period continues to be the subject of debate among modern historians. Some favour 13 BCE, others 27, as the year that the two provinces Hispania Citerior and Ulterior were divided into three, viz. Baetica (with its administrative capital at Corduba), Lusitania (administered from Emerita) and Tarraconensis (administered from Tarraco).
198. Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* 5.6.4; Livy, *AUC* 26.4. See Maxfield (1981), pp. 76–79.
199. *Aureus: BMCRE* (Augustus) I 110. *Denarius: BMCRE* I 121, *RIC* I 414.
200. The most complete survey of Roman gold mines in north-west Spain in English are Lewis and Jones (1970), pp. 169–185 and Jones and Bird (1972), pp. 59–74. See also Domergue (1978) and Richardson (1976), pp. 140–141.
201. Dio 54.20.3.
202. See Van Nostrand (1915), p. 113.
203. The spectacular colonnaded stage façade which survives to this day was built in 105 CE, during the reign of Emperor Trajan.
204. *CIL* II.474 = Dessau, *ILS* 130: 'M AGRIPPA L F COS III TRIB POT III'. Walter Trillmich, 'Colonia Augusta Emerita, Capital of Lusitania' in J.C. Edmondson (ed.) *Augustus* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p.439; see figs. 14.4a. and 4b on p. 440.
205. See Walter Trillmich, 'Colonia Augusta Emerita, Capital of Lusitania' in Edmondson (2009), p. 456 and Appendix, p. 466; see fig. 14.11 on p. 457: Trillmich records that the statue was found in the nineteenth century at a house, 13 calle Sagasta.
206. *CIL* II.1527. Hill (1899), p. 95.
207. See Boatwright (2000), p. 60, quoting Heiss (1870), p. 270, n. 13.
208. Dio 54.11.7.
209. Frontin., 10.5; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 31.420. The *passus* is measured as two marching steps or five feet. Compare to the Pont du Gard: from the source at Fontaine d'Eure, the aqueduct wound around the southernmost foothills of the Garrigues de Nîmes of the Massif Central along a route of 50km (31 miles).
210. Frontin., 121.1–3.
211. Frontin., 22.1: Vitruvius 8.6.1 advises that the fall of an aqueduct should be not less than one-half foot in every 100 feet, or a minimum slope of 0.5 per cent.

Compare to the Pont du Gard: most of the aqueduct – 35km (22 miles) – lay underground, comprising a stone conduit enclosed by an arched roof made of local soft limestone slabs, which was then buried with a layer of topsoil. The aqueduct, whose average gradient is only 1 in 3,000 so that the source is only 17m (56 feet) higher than the repartition basin in the city of Nîmes, incorporates regulation basins, dropshaft cascades and multi-cell culverts to manage the water flow – including excess water from storms – on its descent. See Chanson (2002), pp. 326–330.

212. Frontin., 70.3, 84.1: all save 200 *quinariae*, which were used outside the city, entering Rome. Compare to the Pont du Gard: it brought an estimated 200,000 cubic metres (7.1 million cubic feet) of fresh water per day to the city – a journey that took nearly 27 hours to complete. G. Sobin, *Luminous debris: reflecting on vestige in Provence and Languedoc*, University of California Press (1999), p. 205.
213. Frontin., 98: ‘*qui [Agrippa] iam copia permittente discripsit, quid aquarum publicis operibus, quid lacibus, quid privatis daretur*’ and 99 ‘*Augustus quoque edicto complexus est, quo iure uterentur qui ex commentariis Agrippae aquas haberent ...*’
214. Frontin., 19.2, 22.2, 84.2. The *Horti Luculliani* lay above the modern Piazza di Spagna. Compare to the Pont du Gard: where required to cross streams or valleys, the conduit was carried over short bridges. Of these the Pont du Gard itself is justifiably the most famous. Its elegant arches skip across the valley of the Gardon River in Vers-Pont-du-Gard near Remoulins. (<http://www.pontdugard.fr/en>) Containing an estimated 50,400 tons of limestone, the Pont du Gard was constructed almost entirely without the use of mortar or clamps. Three tiers of arches rise to a height of 49m (161 feet) above the river and span distance of 274m (899 feet). At the base it is 9m (30 feet) wide rising to 3m (9.8 feet) at the top. Deming (2010), pp. 47–54.
215. Frontin., 84.2.
216. See Fagan (2002), pp. 105 and 109.
217. *TDAR*, pp. 518–519.
218. *TDAR*, pp. 518–519: ‘The general plan of these *thermae* is known from a fragment of the Marble Plan found in 1900 (NS 1900, 633–634; BC 1901, 3–19; LS II.209; Mitt. 1905, 75); from drawings and plans of the sixteenth century (NS 1882, 347–351) when much of the structure was still standing — three in particular, one of Baldassare Peruzzi (Uffizi 456; Geymüller (1883); NS 1882, pl. XXI), a second of Palladio in the Devonshire collection (port. IX. f.14: Rossi’s edition of the Terme dei Romani, Vicenza 1797, pl. II; BC 1901, pl. II), and a third of S. Peruzzi (Uffizi 642); and from the meagre results of excavations (cf. NS 1881, 276–281; 1882, 351–359),’
219. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26, 36.189.
220. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 34.62: three statues of the Scraper survive, the Pentelic marble ‘Vatican Apoxyomenos’, found complete in Trastevere in 1849, now stands in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican City; while the bronze ‘Croatian Apoxyomenos’, found complete in the Adriatic Sea near Lošinj in April 1999, is now in the care of the Zadar Museum; and a fragmentary version in bronze,

- excavated in Ephesus in 1896, is now in the possession of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
221. See Lloyd (1979), pp. 193–204.
 222. Mart., *Epig.* 5.20, 6.42; cf. Statius, *Silvae* 1.5.26.
 223. *Epistles*, 87; Ov., *Tr.*, 3.285ff: Ovid uses the poetic phrase *Virgineus liquor* (*Epistulae Ex Ponto* 1.8.38) which has been translated ‘flowing streams of the Virgo’ but also as the sexual innuendo ‘damp virgin conduit’.
 224. Favro (1996), p. 179.
 225. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26: ‘*exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli.*’
 226. Strab., *Geog* 13.1.19.
 227. Juv., *Sat.* 4.10.356.
 228. Brixia: *CIL* V.4315; Septempeda: 9.5576, ‘... DE SUA PE[C] M [AG]RIPPAE ET SUO ... BAS[IL]ICAM FA[CI]EN[DAM] OPERI PRAEF.’
 229. *CIL* IV.3878. Alternatively Fagan (2002), p. 63, speculates a connection with his son Agrippa Postumus through a *balneator* on his staff.
 230. Ver., *Aen.* 8.675–684 (trans. John Dryden): ‘*in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella, | cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte uideres | feruere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus. | hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar | cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis, | stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammis | laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur uertice sidus. | parte alia uentis et dis Agrippa secundis | arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum, | tempora nauali fulgent rostrata corona.*’
 231. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.148: ‘*Philippensi proelio morbi, fuga et triduo in palude aegroti et (ut fatentur Agrippa ac Maecenas) aqua subter cutem fusa turgidi latebra ...*’ Servius, *ad Georg.* 2.162: ‘*Agrippa in secundo vitae suae ...*’. For a discussion on the likely content and its use as source material by Roman authors see Lewis (1993), pp. 689–692.
 232. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 21.3, *Tib.* 9.1, 18; Ov., *Fast.* 5.595ff; *RG* 29.2; *Iustin* 42.5.11; *Livy, Per.* 141; *Eutrop., Brev.* 7.9; *Orosius* 6.21.29L; *Vell. Pat.* 2.91.1. Suetonius states in his *Tib.* that Tiberius received the *signa*, but in the *Div. Aug.* he states – as all the other sources do – that Augustus did. See also Rose (2005), p. 22. See note above.
 233. Aelius Donatus, *Vita Vergiliana* 35.
 234. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 64.1.

Chapter 7: Associate of Augustus

1. Dio 54.10.1–2, 54.12.3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.46.
2. Gray (1970), p. 238.
3. Reinhard (1933), pp. 98–99.
4. Tac., *Ann.* 3.56.3: ‘[Augustus] *Marcum deinde Agrippam socum eius potestatis*’; cf. 1.3.
5. Dio 54.12.2: ‘*τῶν νικητηρίων καὶ ἐπεμπον αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τήν γε πρώτην ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς πλείστους ὅσους ἐτίμα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐλαμπρύνοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας*

- ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον ’; 54.12.4–5: ‘ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἰσού πῃ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν. ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισιν ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη.’ Cf. Vell. Pat., 2.90.1: ‘*nunc Agrippae, quem usque in tertium consulatum et mox collegium tribuniciae potestatis amicitia principis evexerat*’ and RG 6 and 30–31; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 27.5; *CIL* III.494, VI.32323.53, IX.3150, 3913; *IG* 12.5.740.
6. The term ‘co-regent’ used by Reinhard (1933), pp.98–103, and other modern historians, is one Augustus himself went to great lengths to avoid precisely because of its association with kingship and *dominatio*.
 7. It also itself set a precedent for the men who came after Augustus, for example, Tac., *Hist.* 1.15: ‘*exemplo divi Augusti qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, mox nepotes sus, postremo Tiberium Neronem privignum in proximo sibi fastigio conlocavit*’.
 8. Dio 54.15.1: ‘τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλεύσαι, εἴτ’ οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ.’
 9. Sen., *Ep.* 94.46–47: ‘*dicere solebat multum se huic debere sententiae.*’
 10. Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 10.6: ‘*Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin mali, inbecillum. nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur.*’
 11. *BMCRE* I 115; Cohen 529; *RIC* I 407 (R2); *RSC* 529.
 12. Zosimus 2.
 13. Dio 54.18.2.
 14. See Reinhard (1933), p. 104 n. 28.
 15. See Barker (1996), pp. 434–446; and Galinsky (1967), pp. 619–633.
 16. Zosimus, *Istoria Nea* 2.5 – translated by anon., *New History*. London: Green and Chaplin (1814).
 17. *CIL* VI.10094. The inscription is on display at Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Rome, Inv. No. 29340.
 18. *CIL* VI.32323.90–102.
 19. *CIL* VI.32323.103–110.
 20. *CIL* VI.32323.119–122.
 21. *CIL* VI.32323.90–102, 115–118 and 134–138.
 22. See Frank (1921), pp. 324–329.
 23. Hor., *Carmen Saecularum* 65– 69: ‘*si Palatinas videt aequos aras, | remque Romanam Latiumque felix | alterum in lustrum meliusque semper | proroga aevum*’ – translated by John Conington. With great irony the *Carmen Saeculare* still survives – the Roman Empire does not.
 24. *CIL* 6.32323.165.
 25. *CIL* VI.10046: each man’s name is prefaced by M. Vispanius: see Sources 3. Inscriptions.
 26. Dio 54.18.1 = Zonaras 10.35; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 29, 64.1; Tac., *Ann.* 1.3.2; Vell. Pat. 2.96.1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.67; Eusebius and Jerome, Year of Abraham 2001.
 27. See Eck (2003), p.116.
 28. Dio 54.18.1.

29. Sen., *Contro.* 2.4.12–13: ‘*In hac controversia Latro contrariam rem (non) controversiae dixit sed sibi. declamabat illam Caesare Augusto audiente et M. Agrippa, cuius filios, nepotes suos, Caesar [Lucium et Gaium] adoptaturus diebus illis videbatur. erat M. Agrippa inter eos, qui non nati sunt nobiles sed facti. cum diceret partem adulescentis Latro et tractaret adoptionis locum, dixit: non asciti ex imo per adoptionem nobilitati (in)serunt(ur, et) [in hanc] alia in hanc summam. Maecenas innuit Latro(ni) festinare Caesarem; finiret iam declamationem. quidam putabant hanc malignam rem Maecenatis esse; effecisse enim illum, non ne audiret quae dicta erant Caesar, sed ut notaret. | Tanta autem [marcus] sub divo Augusto libertas fuit, ut praepotenti tunc M. Agrippae non defuerint qui ignobilitatem exprobrarent.*’ My thanks to Bob Durrett for the translation.
30. See [Chapter 1, n. 9](#).
31. Dio 54.20.4–5; Florus 2.30; Strab., *Geog.* 7.1.4; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 23.
32. Vell. Pat. 2.97.1.
33. Vell. Pat. 2.97.1.
34. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 23; Dio 54.20.4–5.
35. Dio 54.20.6.
36. Dio 54.20.6.
37. Suet., *Tib.* 9.1
38. Dio 54.22.1–3. For a detailed discussion of the Alpine War of 15 BCE see Powell (2011), pp. 18–48.
39. His departure was before September 16 BCE as the *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*, paid for by Agrippa, were held in his absence by the *quindecimviri*.
40. Butrint is now a World Heritage Site (<http://www.butrint.org>).
41. *CIL* 1878.
42. Strab., *Geog.* 7.7.6: ‘ἡ μὲν οὖν Νικόπολις εὐάνδρεϊ καὶ λαμβάνει καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπίδοσιν, χώρων τε ἔχουσα πολλήν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων κόσμον, τό τε κατασκευασθὲν τέμενος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πεντετηρικὸν ἐν ἄλσει ἔχοντι γυμνάσιόν τε καὶ στάδιον, τὸ δ’ ἐν τῷ ὑπερκεμένῳ τοῦ ἄλσεος ἱερῷ λόφῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀποδεδείκται δ’ ὁ ἄγων Ὀλύμπιος, τὰ Ἄκτια, ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἀκτίου Ἀπόλλωνος, τὴν δ’ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχουσιν αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι κατοικίαι περιπόλιοι τῆς Νικοπόλεως εἰσιν. ἦγετο δὲ καὶ πρότερον τὰ Ἄκτια τῷ θεῷ, στεφανίτης ἀγών, ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων: νυνὶ δ’ ἐντιμότερον ἐποίησεν ὁ Καῖσαρ.’
43. Strab., *Geog.* 7.7.6: ‘καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀκτίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶ πλησίον τοῦ στόματος, λόφος τις ἐφ’ ᾧ ὁ νεῶς, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ πεδίον ἄλσεος ἔχον καὶ νεῶρια, ἐν οἷς ἀνέθηκε Καῖσαρ τὴν δεκαναῖαν ἀκροθίνιον, ἀπὸ μονοκρότου μέχρι δεκίηρους: ὑπὸ πυρὸς δ’ ἠφανίσθαι καὶ οἱ νεώσοικοι λέγονται καὶ τὰ πλοῖα.’
44. Dio 51.1.3; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 18.2, 96.2; Plut., *Ant.* 65.3; Philippus, *Ant. Pal.* 6.236; Strab., *Geog.* 7.7.6.
45. See Murray and Petsas (1989).
46. Twenty-three sockets for rams have been catalogued: see Murray and Petsas (1989), pp. 35–59, figs. 20–30 and fig. 54 (p. 88) for a reconstruction drawing of the complex based on current knowledge. Cf. Dio 51.1; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 18.2.

For a discussion of the significance of the monument, see Gurval (1995), pp. 65–72.

47. Murray and Petsas (1989), pp. I–xi + 1–172, see p. 76, 86: ‘*Imp Caesa]r – Div[i – luli .]f vict[oriam consecutus bell]o quod region[e cons]ul [quintum i]mperat[or se]ptimum pace [.] parta terra [marique . Nep]tuno [et Ma]rt[i . c]astra [ex] quibu[s ad . hostem . in]seq[ue]ndum egr]essu[s est . navalibus spoli]is [exornalta . c]onsacravit.’*
48. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 96.2.
49. RPC 1366 with *acrostolium* on reverse and 1367 with dolphin and trident on reverse; Romeo (1998), pp. 26–27, figs. 44–47.
50. Not, as is often said, *Legio XXII*. Eusebius, Year of Abraham 2011 (*Versio Armenaica*).
51. On the city founded by Iulius Caesar in 44 BCE (see The Corinth Computer Project online at <http://corinth.sas.upenn.edu/44bc.html>).
52. *Tribus Agrippia: American Journal of Archaeology* 23 (1919), p. 167: ‘*M Agrippae Cos Tert Trib Potest D D Tribus Vinicia Patrono*’ During 1913–1914 William Bell Dinsmoor, the architect at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, proved that the base of the Agrippa monument was much older than the first century CE and that it had had an earlier use. Also from the forum of Corinth, dating to the time of Tiberius, the inscription honouring T. Manlius Iuventus for his rôle in the Caesarean Games and his many public offices: *T Manlio T F Col Iuvenco Aed Praef I D II Vir Pontif Agonhet Isthmion et Caesarein Qui Primus Caesarea Egit Ante Isthmia Tribus Agrippia Tri* [bule]s: O. Broneer, ‘Excavations in the Agora at Corinth, 1933,’ *American Journal of Archaeology* 37.4. (Oct.–Dec., 1933), p. 568–569; J.H. Kent, *The Inscriptions: 1926–1950* (Corinth 8:3), Princeton, NJ, American School of Classical Studies, 1966, no. 154.).
53. Dio 51.5.2. Just 6.4km (4 miles) long, the Diolkos connected the Corinthian Gulf to the Saronic Gulf, representing a considerable saving over the 400km (250 miles) long journey around the Peloponnese. It also reduced the risk of encountering a dangerous weather event, which could be 25–35 per cent in summer and up to 40 per cent in winter. It was built from immense blocks of stone, forming a continuous roadway 3.5–5m (10–16.5ft) wide, with two parallel tracks engraved in it, spaced 1.5m apart for trolley wheels. The gradient is just 0.023 per cent, or 70m (230ft) in 3km (1.9 miles). The Diolkos was in operation in the first century and was last recorded in use in 883 CE. See Engels (1990), pp. 58–9; Pettegrew (2011); Werner (1997).
54. Gytheion: *IG* 5.1.1166l; Tainaros: *CIL* III.491 = *IG* 5.1.
55. Megara: *IG* 7.64–65; Sparta/Eurykles: RPC 1106, Romeo (1998), p. 27, figs. 48–49; Antony J.S. Spawforth ‘Roman Corinth: The Formation of a Colonial Elite’, *Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Athens, 7–9 September 1993 (Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity National Hellenic Research Foundation) (1996), p. 173.
56. *CIL* III.494 = *IG* 5.1.374.
57. Strab., *Geog* 8.6.1, 4, 15 notes it was a good harbour.

58. Strab., *Geog* 8.6.15.
59. *Ephemeris Archaeologike* (1885), 84–85 = IG 4.1363.
60. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 23.58: ‘*siquidem M. Agrippa supremis suis annis conflictatus gravi morbo pedum, cum dolorem eum perpeti nequiret*’; cf. 7.45. The U.S. National Library of Medicine (NLM) defines gout as ‘a kind of arthritis that occurs when uric acid builds up in blood and causes joint inflammation’, noting ‘the exact cause is unknown’, ‘it is more common in men’ and ‘the pain starts suddenly, often during the night and is often described as throbbing, crushing, or excruciating’: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmedhealth/PMH0001459/>.
61. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 23.58: ‘*unius medicorum portentosa scientia ignorante Divo Augusto tanti putavit usu pedum sensuque omni carere, dummodo et dolore illo careret, demersis in acetum calidum cruribus in acerrimo impetu morbid.*’ Cf. 7. 45).
62. See Curchin (1986), p. 406.
63. Paus. 1.8.6.
64. For a detailed discussion see John McKCamp II, *The Athenian Agora: A Short Guide to the Excavations*. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (2003).
65. *Diribitorium*: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 16.76. 16.95; Dio 55.8.4. Odeion: It was rebuilt on a smaller scale as a lecture hall able to accommodate an audience of just 500 and in 150 CE it too collapsed.
66. Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum* 2.5.3, 8.2.
67. IG 3.576.
68. The original plinth, originally dedicated in honour of a Pergamene charioteer’s victory in the Panathenaic Games, is believed to have been erected by Eumenes II, king of Pergamon in 178 BCE. See Hans Rupprecht Goette, *Athens, Attica and the Megarid: An Archaeological Guide* (London: Routledge, 2001), p.17.
69. IG 3.575: ‘Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΝ ΔΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΤΟΝΕΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ.’ It is on the west side of the plinth, about two-thirds up and is just legible under the right lighting conditions. Curiously, it is not mentioned by Paunsanias. See Hurwit (1988), p. 278.
70. *Ephemeris Archaeologike* (1886) 57–59 = IG 7.349.
71. Andros: statue of Iulia, IG 12.5.740; Delos: statue of Agrippa, *Rheinisches Museum* 22 (1867), p. 292; Mytilene: IGR 4.64 = IG 12.2.204.
72. *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 4 (1880), p. 517.
73. Dio 54.29.5 notes in passing the Chersonese ‘had come in some way or other into Agrippa’s hands’. Intriguingly, the Romans gave the Thracian Chersonese to their ally Eumenes II of Pergamon in 188 BC – the same man who paid for the plinth and statue on the acropolis of Athens – after the Seleucid king Antiochus III was ousted from there at the request of the Greek population.
74. Antigonía Troas was itself built on the earlier site of Sigeia. The *colonia* was founded between 27–14 BCE. It is mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.33 (124). Acts 16:8–11 states Paul of Tarsus sailed from here.
75. Strab., *Geog* 13.1.26: ‘καὶ δὴ καὶ συνέμεινε καὶ αὐξήσιν ἔσχε, νῦν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἐδέκεται καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἐλλογίμων πόλεων.’
76. Strab., *Geog*. 13.1.18–19.

77. Strab., *Geog.* 13.1.19: 'έντεῦθεν δὲ μετήνεγκεν Ἀγρίππας τὸν πεπτωκότα λέοντα, Λυσίππου ἔργον: ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῷ μεταξύ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τοῦ εὐρίπου.'
78. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26.
79. Dio 54.23.7 is contradicted by the inscription of Antonia Tryphanaea, notes Reinhard (1933), p. 109, n. 27, citing *IGR* 4.146.7–8.
80. Mytilene: *IGR* 4.114, which heralds Iulia as the 'new Aphrodite'; Smyrna: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden I.1900/I.25; Samos: *IGR* 4.1717; Kalymnos: *Tituli Calymnii, Annuario Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 22–23, N.S. 6–7 (1944–45), p. 164, n. 141; Kos: R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 229, nr. 223; Keramos: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11 (1890), p. 128, no. 15.
81. Letoon: *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII.1981, 23 and 24; Myra: *IGR* III 719 – on the same inscription Augustus is declared 'benefactor and savior of the whole Cosmos'; Patara: *SEG* 44, 1208 – see Engelmann (2004), p. 129.
82. Strab., *Geog.* 14.6.5.
83. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888), p. 243, no. 69. Dio 54.23.7 notes that Augustus gave money to the Paphians, who had suffered from an earthquake and, by a decree, permitted them to call their city *Augusta*.
84. Ἀγρίππιος: Chaldaean dodecaeteris in the *Codex Parisinus* 2420, Liber Glossarum, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 5.165. The calendar also had months named after Livia, Octavia, Tiberius and Drusus the Elder.
85. M. Maas, 'People and Identity in Roman Antioch', in C. Kondoleon (ed.), *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2000), pp. 13–22.
86. Maas (2000).
87. Lib., *Or.* 11.124. Oration 11 is known as Antiochikos.
88. Lib., *Or.* 11.125.
89. Malalas, 9.222.
90. Some historians prefer 14 BCE as the date of Agrippa's visit, which Reinhold (1933), p. 110 n. 32 and 34 disputes as it is based on 'dubious chronology' and of the foundation of the *colonia*.
91. *CIL* III.156
92. Cf. the earthquake damage in Paphos n. 82 above.
93. Malalas, 9.225.
94. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.12.
95. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.12: 'Ταῦτα διοικήσας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἐπύθετο καταπεπλευκέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤξιωσεν εἰς τε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ παρελθεῖν καὶ τυχεῖν ὧν ἔδει παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ξένου καὶ φίλου.'
96. The inference in Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.12 is that the party went by sea.
97. See Regev (2010), pp. 197–222.
98. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.13: 'κάκεινος μὲν εἷζας λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, Ἡρώδης δὲ οὐδὲν ἀρεσκείας ἀπέλιπεν ἐν τε ταῖς νεοκτίστοις πόλεσιν ὑποδεχόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐπιδεικνύνα

παῖσαν ἀπόλαυσιν διαίτης καὶ πολυτελείας ἐξαλλάττων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐν τε τῇ Σεβαστῇ καὶ Καισαρείᾳ περὶ τὸν λυμένα τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον κἂν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἃ πολλαῖς δαπάναις ἐξωκοδόμησεν, τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν .’

99. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 14.360. In *Bell. Iud.* 1.21.10 Josephus writes ‘and as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself, Herodium and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman’s breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Hierosolyma, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outward walls, and partitions, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely fictitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also, insomuch that, on account of its containing all necessities, the fortress might seem to be a city, but, by the bounds it had, a palace only’.
100. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.2.7, 1.5.4; in 1.21.2 Josephus writes, ‘yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Caesar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebastia, from [the Greek] Sebastos, or Augustus, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.’
101. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.21.6: ‘now although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and ornament of the works were such, as though he had not had any difficulty in the operation; for when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathoms of water, the greatest part of which were fifty feet in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide; one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Procumatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round it.’ On constructing moles see M. Vitruvius Pollo *De Architectura* 2.6.1, which describes the construction of moles and the use of hydraulic concrete.
102. Hohlfelder, Brandon and Oleson (2007), pp. 409–415. See also K.G. Holum, R.L. Hohlfelder, R.J. Bull, and A. Raban, *King Herod’s Dream: Caesarea on the*

- Sea, New York (1988), p. 101.
103. Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 5.12.2–6. See Holum *et al.* (1988), p. 101 and 105, with isometric cutaway reconstruction as fig. 64 on p. 103 and artist's painting as fig. 65 on p. 104. The authors note that spruce, pine, fir and poplar were identified by botanists among the timbers found.
104. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.21.6.
105. Holum (1996), Appendix 1, p. 202, Holum (1988), pp. 98–99.
106. See Hohlfelder (2000), pp. 249–253, who draws on an original insight of Keith H. Beebe, 'Caesarea Maritima: Its Strategic and Political Significance to Rome', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42 (1983), pp. 195–207).
107. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.14: 'ἦγεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὑπαντῶντός τε τοῦ δήμου παντός ἐν ἐορτῶδει στολῇ καὶ δεχομένου τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν εὐφημίαις.'
108. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.14: 'Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μὲν ἑκατόμβην κατέθυσεν, ἐστιᾷ δὲ τὸν δῆμον οὐδενὸς τῶν μεγίστων πλήθει λειπόμενον.'
109. Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 1.21.8.
110. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.15: 'αὐτὸς δὲ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὴν κἂν ἔτι πλείους ἐπιμείνας ἡμέρας διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἡπείγεται οἱ τὸν γὰρ πλοῦν ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῆ κομιζομένῳ πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν.'
111. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.16; Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 36–37.
112. Dio 54.24.4–5.
113. Dio 54.24.4 explains that after the death of Asander, Scribonius married Asander's wife, named Dynamis, who was really the daughter of Pharnakes and the granddaughter of Mithradates VI and had been entrusted with the regency by her husband, and thus he was holding Bosphorus under his control.
114. Dio 54.24.4–5; Lucian, *Macrobioi* 17; Strab., *Geog.* 11.2.3.
115. Dio 54.24.6; Strab., *Geog.* 11.2.3.
116. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.20.
117. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.21.
118. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.21.
119. Dio 54.24.6: 'καὶ ἐνίκησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ παρεστήσατό σφας πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Σινώπην ἐλθεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύουσιν. οὕτω δὲ τὰ τε ὅπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ παρεδόθησαν.'
120. Orosius, 21.28: '*Bosforanos vero Agrippa superavit et signis Romanis, quae illi quondam sub Mithridate sustulerant, bello recuperatis victos ad deditionem coegit.*' The *signa* were captured when Mithridates beat L. Licinius Murena in the Second Mithridatic War of 83–81 BCE.
121. Dio 54.26.6. A *praefectus cohortis Bosporanorum* is mentioned on an inscription found at Antiocheia in Pisidia and dated to 8–7 BCE: Cheesman (1913), pp. 253–266.
122. For the Chersonesos see Carter (2003).
123. Dio 54.24.7: 'οὕτε γὰρ ἔγραψεν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὲρ τῶν παραχθέντων οὐδέν, ἅψ' οὗ δὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, νόμῳ τινὶ τῷ ἐκείνου τρόπῳ χρώμενοι, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τι τῷ κοινῷ ἔτ' ἐπέστελλον.'

124. Dio 54.24.8: 'ἐδέξατο: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἄλλω τινὶ ἐτι τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ, ὥς γε καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυροῦντο.'
125. Drusus in Germania: Dio 54.33.5; Tiberius in Illyricum: Suet., *Tib.* 9.2; Dio 54.31.4.
126. Nic., *Autobiography* Fragment F134; 3 in K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1874), p. 350.
127. In the first century CE the Greeks assessed the value of the *drachma* as having parity with the *denarius*. Roman authorities officially deemed the value of the *drachma* at 75 per cent of a *denarius*. The fine imposed by Agrippa was therefore equivalent to 75,000 *denarii* or the annual pay of 333 Roman legionaries.
128. Cf. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.26.
129. 'Συνγενῆς τῆς πόλεως': IGR 4.204.
130. Suet., *Tib.* 7.2: 'ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam uulgo existimabatur.'
131. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.6: 'raptus ... in tormentis adulteriorum coniugis.'
132. Tac., *Ann.* 1.53.4.
133. Suet., *Calig.* 7. Her name appears on statue bases which were erected at Delphi (Dittenberger 779) and Thespiae (A. Plassart, *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 50 (1926), pp. 447–448, nos. 88–89) but which omit her older sister, Iulia.
134. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.23.
135. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.22, 'πᾶν γοῦν ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν Ἡρώδης, ἐν τε τοῖς πραγματικοῖς συναγωνιστῆς κἂν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος σύμβουλος, ἡδὺς δὲ κἂν ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ μόνος ἀπάντων κοινωνὸς ὀχληρῶν μὲν διὰ τὴν εὖνοιαν, ἡδέων δὲ διὰ τὴν τιμὴν.'
136. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.24–25: 'καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὅσα διὰ χρημάτων ἦν ηπίξεως οὐ παρέλειπεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος καὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἀγρίππα τισὶν ἐπιζητουμένων μεσίτης ἦν καὶ διεπράττετο μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι τοὺς δεομένους. ὄντος δὲ κάκεινου χρηστοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψύχου πρὸς τὸ παρέχειν ὅσα τοῖς ἡξιωκόσιν ὠφέλιμα ὄντα μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἐλύπει, πλεῖστον ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐποίει ῥοπήν προτρέπουσα πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας οὐ βραδύνοντα τὸν Ἀγρίππαν.'
137. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.26.
138. Cohen 1.180.
139. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.23.
140. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.27.
141. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.27–28. The two *drachma* coin was the *didrachma*; Matthew 17:24. Reinhold (1933), p. 119 n. 81, writes, 'I take the passage above from Josephus to mean that the Jews complained, not of compulsion to perform military service and liturgies, but of the illegal taxation and the appropriation of sacred money, exempted by the Roman government, to meet such civic expenses.'
142. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 76.
143. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.29–30; *Bell. Iud.* 1.21.11.

144. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.31–57.
145. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.58–60.
146. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.60: ‘συνιδὼν οὖν Ἀγρίππας βιαζομένους ἀπεκρίνατο ταῦτα: διὰ μὲν τὴν Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ φιλίαν ἔτοιμος εἶναι πᾶν ὅτιοῦν χαρίζεσθαι Ἰουδαίοις, ἃ δὲ ἀξιοῦσιν καὶ καθ’ αὐτὰ δίκαια δοκεῖν: ὥστ’, εἰ μὲν ἐδέοντο καὶ πλειόνων, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαι τὰ γε μὴ λυποῦντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἃ καὶ πρότερον εἰλήφασιν ἄκυρα μὴ γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀνεπηρεάστοις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις διατελεῖν ἔθεσιν.’
147. Joseph., *Antiquitates Iudaicae* 16.167–168: ‘Ἀγρίππας Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναφερομένων ἱερῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν βούλομαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ποιῆσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς τε κλέπτοντας ἱερὰ γράμματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταφεύγοντάς τε εἰς τὰς ἀσυλίας βούλομαι ἀποσπᾶσθαι καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ὧς δικαίῳ ἀποσπῶνται οἱ ἱερόσυλοι. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῷ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἵνα σάββασιν μηδεὶς ἀναγκάξῃ Ἰουδαῖον ἐγγύας ὁμολογεῖν.’ Silanus may have been a ‘special legate’ not a proconsul, according to Gray (1970), p. 236.
148. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.169: ‘Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας Κυρηναίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡδὴ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπεμψεν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγὸν τόντε ὄντα Φλάβιον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπιμελουμένους, ἵνα ἀνεπικωλύτως ἀναπέμπηται τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πάτριον, ἐνέτυχόν μοι νῦν, ὡς ὑπὸ τινων συκοφαντῶν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐν προφάσει τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων κωλύοιντο: οἷς ἀποκαθιστάνειν κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἐνοχλουμένοις, καὶ εἰ τινων ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῆρηνται τῶν πόλεων τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκεκρμένους καὶ ταῦτα διορθώσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις κελεύω.’
149. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.165.
150. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.173: ‘ἦτουν τε, ὅπως καγὼ ὁμοίως τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα δοθεῖσιν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην βεβαιώσω. ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἰδέναι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα βουλήμασιν συνεπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια χωρὶς ἐμποδισμοῦ.’ The decree dates to 4 BCE.
151. CIG 9907.
152. Eresos: IGR 4.7 = IG 12.2.531; Argos: ‘Property of the Gerontes: Agrippa greets the Gerontes of Argos, descendants of Danaus and Hypermestra. I am aware from the information with which I have been provided of the reason for the continuation of your system and the preservation of your ancient honors, and I have restored many of your rights which had lapsed and for the future I am able to provide and care for you ...’ – translation taken from K. Chisholm and J. Ferguson, *Rome: The Augustan Age*, Oxford (1981), pp. 132, 134–35.
153. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.86.
154. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.66–77.
155. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.78–86.
156. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.85–86).
157. Dio 54.28.1.

158. See Ryberg (1949), p. 84.
159. Dio 54.12.4–5; cf. Vell. Pat., 2.90.1; RG 6 and 30–31; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 27.5; *CIL* III.494, VI.32323.53, IX.3150, 3913; *IG* 12.5.740.
160. Dio 54 index.
161. Dio 54.28.1; *CIL* XIV.2230. See J.A. Crook, ‘Political History: 30 B.C.–A.D. 14’ in A.K. Bowman, E. Champlin and A. Lintott (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 10, p. 97. See also Gray (1970), pp. 227–238.
162. E.g. *BMCRE* I 103, I 110, I 112–114 – see Sources 2(b).)
163. Dio 54.32.2. For a full discussion of Drusus’ campaign of 12 BCE see Powell (2011), pp. 68–80.
164. Vell. Pat. 2.96.2–3.
165. Agrippa Postumus was conceived in October 13 BCE.
166. Dio 54.28.1–2; Vell. Pat. 2.96.2.
167. Dzino (2012), p. 470, citing S. Dušcanić (2008).
168. Florus 2.24 mentions one Vinnius – presumably Vinicius – winning a victory over the Pannonians between the Drava and Sava rivers.
169. Dio 54.28.2–3 = Zonar. 10.34. Dio specifically states *Καμπανία*.
170. Dio 54.28.2 ‘καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερισάντων ἐπανήλθε, καὶ ἐν αμπανία γενόμενος ἐνόσησε’ = Zonar. 10.34.
171. Syme (1939), p. 391, proposes Agrippa was simply ‘shattered by a winter in Pannonia’.
172. Dio 54.28.3: ‘πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔτυχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὀπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας τῷ τῶν παίδων ὀνόματι τιθείσ’ ἐξωρμήθη.’
173. RG 10: Augustus assumed the position on the death of Lepidus who held the office even while banished from Rome. Ov., *Fast.* 3.419–420 (on 6 March): ‘*Caesaris innumeris, quos maluit ille mereri, | accessit titulus pontificalis honor*’; *Fasti Maffeiani*, *CIL* I².223: ‘*hoc die Caesar pontifex maximus factus est*’; *Fasti Praenestini*, *CIL* I².223: ‘[*Quir*]inio et Valgio coss’. *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13 2: 34–5 entry for 23 September 12 BCE.
174. For the case for Augustus in Athens see Hoff (1989), pp. 267–276; for the case against see Habicht (2005), pp. 226–228. On *quinquatria Minervae*, which was originally sacred to Mars, see Suet., *Domitianus* 4.4.
175. Dio 54.28.3.
176. Dio 54.28.2.
177. Vell. Pat. 2.96.1; Tac., *Ann.* 3.56.3; Livy, *Per.* 138.2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.46.

Chapter 8: Noblest Man of His Day

1. Dio 54.29.7, 54.29.1–3.
2. Dio 54.28.5: ‘Now Augustus not only did what I have recorded, but also had the funeral procession of Agrippa conducted in the manner in which his own was afterward conducted’ – ‘τοῦτο τε οὖν οὕτως ἔδρασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηνέχθη ἐποιήσατο.’
3. Flower (1996), p. 2, notes that the death mask is not to be confused with the *imago* made during life.
4. Paoli (1973), p. 128.
5. Dio 54.28.3: ‘καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ἔς τε τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ

ἔσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προέθηκε .’

6. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 100.2.
7. Cf. Polybios 6.53.8; *Consolatio ad Liviam* 177.
8. Dio 54.28.3.
9. Paoli (1973), p. 129. The date of the funeral is not known.
10. Paoli (1963), p. 128.
11. Paoli (1973), p. 129.
12. At the funeral of Octavia the Elder Drusus the Elder spoke from here (Dio 54.34.5), and Drusus the Younger spoke on the same spot on the occasion of Augustus’ (Suet., *Div. Aug.* 100.3).
13. Augustus as pontifex maximus: *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13 2: 34–5. Curtain: Dio 54.28.4.
14. See http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Karte/VI_249.html.
15. For discussions of the difficulties of reconstructing the Latin original from the Greek translation see Haslam (1980), pp. 193–199 and Badian (1980), pp. 97–109.
16. Papyrus: P. Köln 249, I 10 4701 – translated by David Potter: ‘ἡ [γ]όρ τοι δημαρχική σοι ἐξουσία εἰς πέν- | τε ἔτη κατὰ δόγμα συνκλήτου | Λέντ κλλων ὑπατευόντων ἐδόθη καὶ | πάλιν αὕτη εἰς ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα | [ῥ]υπατευόντων Τιβερίου Νέρωνος | καὶ Κυν κτι Βίου Οὐόρου γμβρών τών | σών προσεπεδόθη. καὶ εἰς {ς} ἅς δήπο- | τέ σε ὑπαρχείας τὰ κοινὰ τών Ῥω- | μαίων ἐφέλκοιτο, μηθενὸς ἐν ἐ- | κείναις ἐξουσίαν μείζω κεῖναι | τῆς σῆς ἐν | νόμῳ ἐκυρώθη. ἀλλὰ σύ εἰς πλεῖστον | ὕψους καὶ ἡμετέρας [σ]τυδῆι καὶ ἀρε- | ταῖς ἰδίαις {ἰδίαις} κα[θ] ὁμοφροσύνην συμ- | πάντων ἀνθρώπων δια{ι} ράμενος .’ Suet., *Div. Aug.* 86.1 remarks that Augustus developed a ‘style of speaking that was chaste and elegant ... making it his chief aim to express his thought as clearly as possible’, which is evidenced by the *laudatio*.
17. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 100.3.
18. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 100.3
19. Dio 54.29.6.
20. Dio 53.30.5.
21. Strab., *Geog* 5.3.8: ‘ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ περίβολος καὶ οὗτος λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικεκείμενον ἔχων σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα, ἐντὸς δ’ αἰγείροις κατάφυτος .’
22. Paoli (1973), pp. 131–132.
23. Dio 54.28.5.
24. Dio 54.29.7: ‘οὕτω γοῦν οὐκ ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου οἰκίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ σημεῖα ὅσα πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν [p. 360] συμβαίνειν σφίσιν εἴωθε, καὶ τότε συνενεχθῆναι. βύαι τε γὰρ τῇ πόλει διεφοίτησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οἰκίαν, ἐς ἣν οἱ ὕπατοι ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, ἐνέσκηψε.’
25. Dio 54.29.8: ‘τό τε ἄστρον ὁ κομήτης ὠνομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰωρηθεὶς ἐς λαμπάδας διελύθη. καὶ πυρὶ ἄλλα τε τῆς πόλεως συχνὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνὴ ἐκαύθη, κοράκων κρέα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ

βωμοῦ τινος ἔμπυρα ἐμβαλόντων .’ Chinese annals record the visit of a comet from 26 August 12 BCE: see Williams (1871), pp. 9–10. The Hut of Romulus (*casa Romuli*) was the home of the legendary founder of Rome on the Palatine Hill. The fire of 12 BCE is the last recorded at the site.

26. Dio 54.30.1: ‘οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐγένετο .’
27. Dio 54.29.4.
28. Dio 54.29.4–5.
29. Dio 54.29.4.
30. Acastus Agrippianus: (*CIL* VI.5849); Castor Agrippianus: (*CIL* VI.5223); Cozum Agrippianus: (*CIL* VI.2020–5203); Philargus Agrippianus: (*CIL* VI.8012); Philotimus Agrippianus: (*CIL* VI.4808); Servius Agrippianus: (*CIL* VI.5299); Zoilus Agrippianus (*CIL* VI.33768, 8756). A steward (*dispensator*) Coinnagus Atticus Agrippianus is also recorded (*CIL* VI.8820).
31. See Reinhold (1933), p. 130 n. 30.
32. *BMCRE* I 121; Cohen 1.121, no. 418; Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 35, figs. 86–87.
33. *BMCRE* I 122; Cohen 1.121, no. 418; Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 35, figs. 88–89.
34. *BMCRE* I 124; Cohen 1.121, no. 419; Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 35, figs. 90–91. The star may be a reference to the comet which appeared after Agrippa’s funeral – see [note 25](#) above.
35. Dio 54.29.6. Tiberius celebrated games for his father and grandfather in the Forum and in an amphitheatre: Suet., *Tib.* 7.1.
36. Dio 54.29.6.
37. Fragments of the altar were discovered in the silt in 1568 and reassembled under Benito Mussolini in 1938. A controversial cover building designed by Richard Meier and opened in 2006 now houses the Ara Pacis.
38. Dio 55.26.4–5.
39. Augustus assigned the aediles’ responsibility for the fire service to the *vicomagistri*. See Diane Favro, ‘*Pater urbis*: Augustus as City Father of Rome’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51.1 (Mar., 1992), pp. 76–79.
40. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.17.
41. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.139.
42. Dio 55.8.4.
43. E.g. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.139.
44. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 16.4.1.
45. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 13.13.3; *Bell. Iud.* 1.4.2, 5.4, 21.8.
46. Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 17.2.2, 18.5.1.
47. *IGR* 4.79g = *IG* 12.2.164; *IGR* 4.65b = *IG* 12.2.169; *IGR* 4.69 = *IG* 12.2.170; *IGR* 4.78a = *IG* 12.2.172.
48. *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 5 (1881), 230–231 and 234–235.
49. *ILS* 8897: construction work on the agora was finished around 4–3 BCE. Statues were also erected of Augustus and Livia.
50. Apameia: *RPC* 2011; see Ilaria Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 31, figs. 68–69 and 70–71. Alabanda: *RPC* 2816, Cohen 1.187, Ilaria Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo*

- (1998), p. 30, figs. 64–65. Amisus: *RPC* 2149, Ilaria Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 31, figs. 72–73. Agrippia-Phanagoria: *RPC* 935, Ilaria Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 29, figs. 60–61. Zecca: *RPC* 1685, Ilaria Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 29, figs. 56–59. Knossos: *RPC* 976; Ilaria Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 29, figs. 54–55. Crete/Cyrene: *RPC* 942, Ilaria Romeo, *Ingenuus Leo* (1998), p. 28, figs. 52–53.
51. Inscription of Antonia Tryphaena, *IGR* 4.146.7–8. Cf. Dio 54.23.7 where he claims Augustus was the restorer.
 52. DuPont (1992), p. 91.
 53. Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire* Volume 1 (Brill Publishers, 1991), pp. 82–83.
 54. *CIL* X.3691, X.3691a (Cumae).
 55. Ευεργέτης: *IG* 12.2.203.
 56. Θεός Σωτήρ: *IGR* 4.70a = *IG* 12.2.171, *IG* 12.2.166c, 12.2.168 and 12.2.171 where Agrippa is associated with Agrippa Postumus: see Rodaz (1984), pp. 4453–444. For discussion of a recently identified inscription see Christian Habicht, ‘Marcus Agrippa *Theos Soter*’, *Hyperboreus* 11 (2005), pp. 242–246.
 57. See Roddaz (1984), pp. 445–449.
 58. *IG* 12.6, 7; *IG* 5.1, 374 = *SEG* XVIII 156; *PH* 104; I. Smyrna 331. Lagina: *SEG* XLVII 1585, 1586. For the issues raised by the suggestion of a cult of Agrippa, see Pleket (1958), pp. 11–17. Reinhard (1933), p. 133 n. 41, dismisses inscriptions bearing the words ευεργέτης, κτίστης or σωτήρ as evidence of divine honours and for a cult of Agrippa in the East as ‘hardly deserves serious consideration’, yet recent studies point to the opposite conclusion, such as Kalfoglou-Kaloteraki (2003).
 59. *BMCRE* I 122, Cohen 17; Komnick K50.0; *RIC* I 817. The coins were minted over many years. Numismatists and historians have long debated whether the coin was first minted under Augustus, Tiberius or Caligula. The evidence is inconclusive with pros and cons for each candidate. The 25th anniversary of Agrippa’s death would be 13 CE. Reinhard (1933), p. 132 n. 39 and p. 136, argues the coins were minted on the 75th anniversary of Agrippa’s birthday, which would put the first issues in 11–12 CE (i.e. under Augustus), though by the same argument it could have equally well marked the centenary, 36–37 CE (i.e. under Tiberius).
 60. E.g. Suet., *Tib.* 21.3–6; Tac., *Ann.* 6.51.
 61. Suet., *Tib.* 21.4, 27, 28, 30, 46.
 62. Suet., *Tib.* 7.2. Nero Claudius Drusus: he is generally known as Drusus Minor or Drusus the Younger or Drusus II.
 63. Suet., *Tib.* 7.2–3: ‘*quanquam bene conuenientem rursusque grauidam dimittere ac Iuliam Augusti filiam confestim coactus est ducere non sine magno angore animi, cum et Agrippinae consuetudine teneretur et Iuliae mores improbare, ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam uulgo existimabatur. Sed Agrippinam et abegisse post diuortium doluit et semel omnino ex occursum uisam adeo contentis et [t]umentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne umquam in*

conspectum ei posthac ueniret.'

64. Perhaps 26 June.
65. Dio 54.29.5.
66. Suet., *Tib.* 7.3.
67. Suet., *Tib.* 7.3.
68. Suet., *Tib.* 7.2–3.
69. Tac., *Ann.* 1.12.
70. C. Asinius Pollio, consul in 23 CE; M. Asinius Agrippa, consul in 25 CE; Cn. Asinius Saloninus – Tac., *Ann.* 3.75; Ser. Asinius Celer, suffect consul in 38 CE; L. Asinius Gallus, consul in 62 CE.
71. Tac., *Ann.* 3.19.3: '*paucosque post dies Vipsania mater eius excessit, una omnium Agrippae liberorum miti obitu: nam ceteros manifestum ferro vel creditum est veneno aut fame extinctos.*'
72. Dio 55 Index.
73. Holliday (1990), p. 544.
74. Staccioli (1986), pp. 347–8.
75. Staccioli (1986), p. 348.
76. One interpretation of the event depicted in the frieze is that it represents the *suovetaurilia* Augustus ordered to be offered annually at the site, on the anniversary of the day the Senate commissioned the altar, marking his return (*reditus*) from his extended stay in the Tres Galliae and Hispaniae in 13 BCE. However, an equally plausible explanation is that the frieze shows the actual consecration ceremony for the altar (*dedicatio*) in 9 BCE.
77. See Ryberg (1949), pp. 85–88 argues convincingly that the *velatus* figure is M. Agrippa; see also Stern (2006), pp. 177–181, who advances that the sculpture helped to build-up Agrippa's stature, for as a *novus homo* he lacked the *dignitas* to lead others in the absence of Augustus; also Toynbee (1961), p. 155.
78. Kleiner (1978), p. 758.
79. Holliday (1990), pp. 542–557; Fraschetti (1980), pp. 957–976.
80. See Rose (1990), p. 458.
81. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 48.1. One was the German prince Arminius.
82. See Rose (1990), pp. 464–465.
83. See Holliday (1990), pp. 542–557.
84. See Fullerton (1985), pp. 473–483.
85. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.8.
86. In the letter quoted by Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 15.7.3), dated 23 September 1 CE, his sixty-third birthday, Augustus addresses his son as *mi Gai, meus asellus iucundissimus, quem semper medius fidius desidero, cum a me abes*, 'my Caius, my darling little donkey, whom the Heavens know I miss when you are away.'
87. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 64.3.
88. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 29.4; 43.5.
89. Dio 55.10.19. Coins: *aureus*: RIC 209 (R3); C 42; Calicó 177; *denarius*: BMCRE 540; C 43; RIC II, 210.
90. Dio 55.9.3–4.
91. Dio 55.9.9; Suet., *Div. Aug.* 26.2; Tac., *Ann.* 1.3.

92. Dio 55.9.10.
93. Dio 55.9.1–2.
94. Dio 55.10.17.
95. Dio 55.10a.9. See Rowe (2002), p. 17, citing Kornemann (1930), who notes the development of parallel careers, and assigning different theatres to pairs of his sons and stepsons was a characteristic of establishing Augustus' dynastic intentions.
96. Dio 55.10.18; Florus 2.32.
97. Suet., *Tib.* 10. 1: '*Quidam existimant, adultis iam Augusti liberis, loco et quasi possessione usurpati a se diu secundi gradus sponte cessisse exemplo M. Agrippae, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto Mytilenas abierit, ne aut obstare aut obtrectare praesens uideretur*'; 11.1; 12.1.
98. Dio 55.10.18.
99. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 54.1; *Tib.* 12.2.
100. Dio 55.10.18; note also 53.13.2. She is also known by the name Livia.
101. Suet., *Tib.* 12.2: '*Comes et rector*.'
102. Vell. Pat. 2.97.1; Hor., *Carm.* 4.9.37f.
103. Dio 55.10.20–1; Florus 2.32.
104. Dio 55.10a.4–6.
105. *Denarius BMCRE* 500; C 40; *RIC* II, 199.
106. Dio 55.10a.9.
107. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 9.118.
108. Dio 55.10a.5.
109. Dio 55.10a.6–8.
110. Dio 55.10.19.
111. Dio 55.10a.6.
112. Dio 55.10a.7; Vell. Pat. 2.102.2.
113. Florus 2.32. The Parthian attacker committed suicide when surrounded by many angry Roman soldiers.
114. Dio 55.10a.8; Vell. Pat. 2.102.3.
115. Dio 55.10a.8.
116. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 65.1; Dio 55.10a.9. *ILS* 140.
117. *CIL* XI.1421; *ILS* 140. Gordon (1983), p. 106, no. 31.
118. Vell. Pat. 2.102.3. An inscription was erected in the Portico that bore his and his brother's names in the *Forum Romanum*, next to an arch that straddled a newly-constructed spur of the *Via Sacra*: Suet., *Div. Aug.* 29.4; Dio 56.27.5; Gordon (1983), p. 105, no. 30. A marble inscription found in Kempten is dedicated to L. Caesar; see Wamser et al. (2004), p. 15 (fig. 12).
119. Tac., *Ann.* 1.3, Suet., *Div. Aug.* 65.1; Dio 55.10a.9–10.
120. Dio 55.12.1. For the honours voted to Caius, see *ILS* 140; for those voted to Lucius, see *ILS* 139, from the Roman *colonia* at Pisa. The honours to Lucius were passed in response to a decree of the Senate, in the form of a letter to Augustus asking him about proper honours for his son. The honours were not of equal weight, however. David S. Potter, Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of Greek and Latin, Department of Classical Studies, University of Michigan, notes, 'the vastly

more elaborate celebration of Caius probably reflects the final decree of the Senate in Lucius' case, and a number of honors that were only granted at Rome. Assuming that the Senate will suggest similar measures in honor of Caius, the Pisans are adopting those provisions for their own city, and to do for Caius at their city what the Senate would do at Rome'. Further, he writes, 'the funeral honors for Lucius and his brother Caius are of great importance because they illustrate the development of the concept of the imperial house defined in terms of relationship to Augustus'.

121. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 55.2; Suet., *Tib.* 23; Vell. Pat. 2.103.2–3.
122. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 55.1. Tiberius' son by his marriage to Vipsania Agrippina, named Nero Claudius Drusus, now became, in turn, Drusus Iulius Caesar (Drusus the Younger).
123. Suet., *Tib.* 21.3: '*Rei publicae causa*'; Vell. Pat. 2.104.1. On Tiberius' adoption, see Kornemann (1960), pp. 37–38; Levick (1976), pp. 49–50; Seager (1972), pp. 35–38.
124. Vell. Pat. 2.103.3. Tiberius expressed his reluctance, publicly, to re-assuming the power, but he relented and accepted it for the good of the state.
125. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 55.1; *Tib.* 15.2; Tac., *Ann.* 1.3; 4.57.
126. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 55.2. See Jameson (1975), Levick (1972b), and Pappano (1941).
127. Tac., *Ann.* 1.3: '*Agrippam Postumum, ... rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii conpertum.*'
128. See Levick (1976), p. 48.
129. See Levick (1976), pp. 48–49.
130. Vell. Pat. 2.103.3. A diagnosis of schizophrenia has been made in modern times – see Levick (1976), p. 58 n. 43.
131. Dio 55.31.1. Powell (2013), pp. 41–53.
132. See Levick (1976), p. 58.
133. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 65.1: '*ex quibus Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum,*' 65.4: '*Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentiozem, in insulam transportavit saepsitque insuper custodia militum,*' Tac., *Ann.* 1.3. See Jameson (1975), Levick (1972b), and Pappano (1941).
134. Dio 56.30.5: 'καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐννεακαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ἐν ᾗ ποτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσε, μετήλλαξε, ζήσας μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι 'τῇ γὰρ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγεννήνητό, μοναρχήσας δέ, ἄφ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ἐνίκησε, τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα.'
135. Dio 54.28.5, 56.34.
136. Suet., *Tib.* 22–24; Dio 56.35–41.
137. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 65.4.
138. Suet., *Tib.* 22.1.
139. Tac., *Ann.* 1.5. See Allen (1947), who argues that Postumus may have died a natural death.
140. Suet., *Tib.* 25. See Detweiler (1970), pp. 289–295.
141. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 65.3. See Fantham (2006), pp. 86–91.

142. Suet., *Tib.* 11.4, 50.1. See Cohen (2008), pp. 206–217, and Drogula (2011), pp. 230–266.
143. Dio 57.18.1; Tac., *Ann.* 1.53.
144. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 101.3.
145. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 64.1.
146. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 65.4.
147. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 64.2.
148. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 64.1.
149. See Powell (2013), pp. 150–162.
150. See Powell (2013), pp. 153–156 and 166–170.
151. Tac., *Ann.* 3.4: ‘*cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur.*’
152. Tac., *Ann.* 4.4, 4.8.
153. Suet., *Tib.* 54.1; *Calig.* 7.
154. Suet., *Tib.* 54.1; *Calig.* 7.
155. Tac., *Ann.* 4.67.
156. Suet., *Tib.* 53.2; Tac., *Ann.* 6.25.
157. Suet., *Calig.* 8.
158. Suet., *Ner.* 6.1.
159. Suet., *Calig.* 24.1.
160. Suet., *Tib.* 73.1.
161. Suet., *Calig.* 10.1; *Tib.* 43.
162. Suet., *Calig.* 23.1: ‘*Agrippae se nepotem neque credi neque dici ob ignobilitatem eius uolebat suscensebatque, si qui uel oratione uel carmine imaginibus eum Caesarum insererent.*’
163. See Wood (1995), pp. 457–482.
164. Suet., *Claudius* 26.3, 29.2.
165. Suet., *Claudius* 39.2, 43; *Ner.* 5.2.
166. Suet., *Claudius* 44.2; *Ner.* 8.
167. See Barrett (1996), pp. 181–193.
168. See Grant (1973), pp. 201–205; Griffin (1984), pp. 164–182.
169. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.8: ‘*sed per utrasque Agrippinas maxime, quae Gaium, quae Domitium Neronem principes genuere totidem facies generis human.*’
170. The coin is one of a series issued under Titus of *Div. Aug.*, Tiberius, Drusus the Younger, Livia, Nero Drusus, Germanicus, Agrippina the Younger, Claudius and Galba: Mattingly, *BMCRE* II 77–78, 281–292 and 261–305.
171. *BMCRE* II 470. See Sources 2. Coins (b) Imperial Mints (ii).
172. *BMCRE* II 510. See Sources 2. Coins (b) Imperial Mints (ii)).
173. Dio 66.24.2.
174. Chron. 146; Hier. *a. Abr.* 2105; cf. perhaps 2101.
175. Oros. VII.12: ‘*Pantheum Romae fulmine concrematum*’; Hier. *a. Abr.* 2127.
176. Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 19; *AJA* 1912, 421.
177. Dio 69.7.1.
178. Hist. Aug. Pius 8: ‘*instauratum ... templum Agrippae.*’

179. CIL VI.896.
180. Amm. Marc., 16.10.14: '*Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam.*'
181. Dio 55.8.3.
182. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.102.
183. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 16.95; Dio 55.8.4: 'νὺν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθείσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη αὐθις συστῆναι, ἀχανής ἐστὶν ὃ τε Ἀγρίππας οἰκοδομοῦμενον κατέλιπε, καὶ τότε συνετελέσθη.'
184. Gladiatorial games: Augustus – Suet., *Div. Aug.* 43; Dio 55.8; Caligula – Suet., *Calig.* 18; Claudius – Suet., *Claud.* 21. *Naumachiae*: Augustus – Dio 55.10; Caligula – Dio. 59.10: 'πάν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐξορύξας καὶ ὕδατος πληρώσας ἵνα μίαν ναῦν ἐσαγάγῃ.' Bazar: Stat. Silv. 4.5.2; Mart. 2.14.5, 57.2; 9.59.1; 10.80.4.
185. Dio 66.24; *Hist. Aug.* Hadr. 19, Alex. 26.
186. CIL VI.31564.
187. Procopius *Bell. Gall.* 2.8.1–11.
188. *LPD* I.505.
189. See Pinto (1985), pp. 9–20.
190. For a digital facsimile: <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10968012.html>.
191. E.g. P.S. Frandsen (1835).
192. Oil on canvas 62 × 90cm (24.7 × 35.7 inches) in the Dick Institute, Kilmarnock, Scotland.
193. William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II, scene 2, 142–145.
194. John Patterson, 'Cleopatra, the film that killed off big-budget epics', *The Guardian*, 15 July 2013.
195. There is absolutely no evidence of a love affair between Agrippa and Octavia in the historical sources. Tom Leach has since become known as the driver turned nobleman Tom Branson in BBC TV/PBS Masterpiece Theater's *Downton Abbey*.

Chapter 9: Assessment

1. Pliny: [chapter 1, n. 14](#); Seneca: [chapter 1, n. 8](#).
2. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.6: '*exercito aevo inter arma mortisque ac noxia accessu*'.
3. See [chapter 1, n. 174](#).
4. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.26: '*exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna.*'
5. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 94.11: '*cum Agrippae, qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur.*'
6. Vell. Pat. 2.96.1: '*Mors deinde Agrippae, qui novitatem suam multis rebus nobilitaverat atque in hoc perduxerat.*'
7. Seneca, *Epistulae* 94.46: '*M. Agrippa, vir ingentis animi.*'
8. Dio 54.29.1: 'Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτω μετήλλαξε, τά τε ἅλλα ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων διαφανῶς γενόμενος.'
9. Hor., *Sermones* 2.3.186: '*astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem.*'
10. Papyrus: P. Köln 4701).
11. Tac., *Ann.* 1.3: '*M. Agrippam ... bonum militia et victoriae socium,*' Syme (1958).
12. Galinsky (2012), p. 119.

13. Vell. Pat. 2.79.1–2.
14. See [chapter 3, n. 37](#); Dio 49.49.4.
15. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 25.4: ‘ἀσφαλῆς γάρ ἐστ’ ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης.’
16. See [chapter 3, n. 93](#).
17. See [chapter 4, n. 180](#).
18. Wallace-Hadrill (1993), p. 3.
19. Syme (1939), p. 297.
20. Dio 51.1.2.
21. Syme (1939), pp. 297–298.
22. Wallace Hadrill (1993), p. 1, 8. For a detailed study see Gurval (1995).
23. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 25.4: ‘*sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene.*’
24. See [chapter 3, n. 17](#).
25. Reinhold (1933), p. vii, writes ‘if Augustus was the ‘architect of the Roman Empire’, Marcus Agrippa was his ‘superintendent of construction’.
26. Dio, 54.29.1: ‘καὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φιλίᾳ πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ συμφορώτατον χρησάμενος.’
27. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.102.
28. Dio 56.30.3: ‘τὴν Πώμην γήϊνην παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω.’
29. It was considered an act of piety to restore decaying temples. Augustus repaired the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius: Livy 4.20.7; Tiberius continued the practice with the Temple of Castor and Pollux: Val. Max. 5.5.3.
30. Frontin., *Aq.* 2.100.
31. Vell. Pat. 2.127.2. See Hurlet (1997).
32. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 73.
33. Galinsky (2012), p. 119. David Stockton, ‘The Founding of the Empire’, in *The Oxford History of the Classical World*, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 548.
34. See [chapter 3, n. 37](#).
35. <http://www.economist.com/node/12075015>.
36. See [chapter 3, n. 37](#).
37. Dio 54.29.2: ‘ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρετῇ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου ἐθελοντῆς ἡττᾶτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέχων πᾶσαν τὴν παρ’ ἐκείνου καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετεῖν ἀνήλπισεν.’
38. Suet., *Div. Aug.* 72.1: ‘*In ceteris partibus vitae continentissimum constat ac sine suspicione ullius vitii.*’
39. See [chapter 4, n. 71](#).
40. See [chapter 7, n. 131](#).
41. Cic., *Amic.* 17.23: ‘*Cumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum praestat omnibus, quod bonam spem praelucet in posterum nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum enim amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui.*’
42. Val. Max. 4.7.7: ‘*orere igitur ab illa, quae sanctorum umbris dicata esse creditur, sede hinc Decime Laeli, illinc M. Agrippa, alter uirorum, deorum alter maximum amicum et certa mente et secundis ominibus sortiti, totumque beatæ turbae gregem, qui uestro ductu ueneranda sinceræ fidei stipendia laudibus et præmiis onustus*

peregit, in lucem uobiscum protrahite.'

43. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7.6: 'in tormentis adulteriorum coniugis socerique praegravi servitio.'
44. See [Chapter 1](#), n. 14.
45. *Portus Iulius*: Suet., *Div. Aug.* 16.1; *Aqua Augusta*: Dio 54.11.7; *Pantheon*: Dio 53.27.3.
46. Dio 53.27.4: 'οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἡτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτίμησε.'
47. Seneca, *Ep.* 94.46: 'M. Agrippa ... qui solus ex iis quos civilia bella claros potentesque fecerunt felix in publicum fuit.'
48. Tac., *Ann.* 14.53: 'abavus tuus Augustus Marco Agrippae Mytilenese secretum, C. Maecenati urbe in ipsa velut peregrinum otium permisit; quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romae pluribus laboribus iactatus ampla quidem sed pro ingentibus meritis, praemia acceperant.'
49. Reinhold (1933), p. vii.
50. Quoted in Cic., *Amic.* 17.64: 'Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur.'
51. Vell. Pat. 2.127.1-2: 'quibus novitas familiae haut obstitit quominus ad multiplicis consulatus triumphosque et complura eveherentur sacerdotia. Etenim magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent interestque rei publicae quod usu necessarium est, dignitate eminere utilitatemque auctoritate muniri.'
52. Syme (1939).
53. Dio 54.29.3: 'ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὐτ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐπαχθῆς οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίφθονος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν ὥς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως ἐπιθυμητῆς συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐεργεσίαις.'
54. Sen., *Ep.* 94.46: 'nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur'. *Hac se aiebat et fratrem et amicum optimum factum.*'
55. Syme (1979), p. 309.
56. Vell. Pat. 2.88.2.
57. Dio 49.4.1-2: 'ὥς δέ τινες λέγουσιν, ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ μαχόμενος, ἐξαρκεῖν οἱ τὸ τρέψαι τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἡγεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς πάνυ ἐταίρους ὅτι οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὄντων οὐδένα ἐθέλουσι κρείττω 1 σφῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πλεῖω, ὅσα γε καὶ πρόχειρον τὴν νίκην ἔχει, αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ δὴ χεῖρω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἄλλοις προστάττουσι.'

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